



THE BISHOPS
OF WINCHESTER:
BIRINUS TO STIGAND.



WALKELIN TO GARDINER.

BY THE LATE

VERY REV. W. R. WOOD STEPHENS,

D.D., F.S.A.,

DEAN OF WINCHESTER.

AND

REV. W. W. CAPES, M. A.

CANON OF HEREFORD.

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The Arms of the See of Winchester.



PREFACE TO PART I.

THESE chapters on the early Bishops of Winchester were contributed to the *Diocesan Chronicle* at intervals during the years 1901 and 1902. It was the intention of Dean Stephens to complete the series as he could find time, and he had readily responded to the suggestion of the Editor that the articles should be written in such a form as to admit of their being eventually reproduced in a convenient volume, to meet the want of a short and trustworthy account of the many eminent men who have occupied the See. Only a small part of this design, alas! has he been permitted to carry out, and we must especially lament the fact that the story breaks off just as he was about to enter upon those times which he had made peculiarly his own. These few pages, however, so far complete a period, that it has been decided to publish them. Those who have read the series in the *Diocesan Chronicle* will be glad of the opportunity of possessing it in a separate form, while the little volume will be felt generally to have a sad and special interest at this time, the correction of the proof of the concluding chapter, on November 27th, being one of the last things which can have employed the ever busy pen of him whom we have lost.

F. T. M

Winchester,

January 3rd, 1903.

PREFACE TO PART II.

AFTER the lamented death of Dean Stephens, his friend, the Rev. W. W. Capes, then Honorary Canon of Winchester, kindly undertook to continue the series of papers in the *Diocesan Chronicle* on the Bishops of Winchester. He did not allow his subsequent appointment to a Residentiary Canonry in Hereford Cathedral to interfere with the punctual performance of his promise to his old Diocese.

The Trustees and Editor of the *Diocesan Chronicle* feel that a contribution of permanent value has been made to the History of the Diocese, and that they can best acknowledge their obligation to the Authors of these Articles by reprinting them all in book shape.

It will be seen that the form of the book has been conditioned not only by the type as originally used, and by the printing of the sheets at intervals, but by the fact that the first part was issued separately in 1903.

So much interest has of late years centred on Bishop Gardiner, that Mr. Malden's account of his relations with his College is included.

F. T. M.

Winchester,

March, 1907.

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The Bishops of Winchester.

PART I.—BIRINUS TO STIGAND.

BY THE LATE

VERY REV. W. R. WOOD STEPHENS, D.D., F.S.A.

Dean of Winchester.

The Bishops of Winchester.

The Conversion of Wessex.

The first five Bishops of the West Saxons:—

Birinus, 634; Agilbert, 650; Wine, 662;

Leutherius (Lothere), 670; Hædde, 676.

The conversion of England to the Christian faith occupied a period of eighty-three years. The process was necessarily very gradual, because the country in the seventh century was divided between several kingdoms. The course of missionary enterprise was determined rather by the political or social relations of the several kingdoms than by their geographical position. Thus while Kent was the first to embrace Christianity, its nearer neighbour, the South Saxon kingdom was the last. Just as rivers take strange windings and turnings by reason of the obstacles which they encounter, so the progress of Christianity was diverted out of a straight course by coming into contact here and there with some kingdom which remained obdurately heathen.

Rochester was the second Episcopal See founded in England (A.D. 604), because it was the chief town of the West Kentings, a tribal division, if not a small kingdom, which was subject to Æthelbert, the first Christian King of Kent. London was the third See (A.D. 604), because Sigebert, King of the East Saxons, who was a nephew of Æthelbert, readily adopted for himself and his people the religion of his uncle. The fourth See was York (A.D. 625), the Northumbrian King Eadwine having married the Christian daughter of Æthelbert, who took with her as her Chaplain to her northern home Paulinus, one of the Italian companions of St. Augustine. Neither the West Saxon nor the South Saxon Kingdoms were connected with Kent by political or matrimonial ties. Sussex remained in heathen darkness until an unexpected visit of the Northumbrian St. Wilfrith in A.D. 680.

The West Saxons owed their conversion to one who was in no way connected either with St. Augustine and his companions, or with the missionaries of the Scottish School who did so much for the propagation of Christianity in the Northern and Midland parts of England.

The nationality of Birinus, the apostle of Wessex, is uncertain: that he was a Roman monk of St. Andrew's, the original home of St. Augustine, is a mere tradition.

He came to England by the advice of Pope Honorius, having promised in his presence that he would scatter the seeds of the holy faith in the very heart of the English territory which no teacher had hitherto visited. By the direction of Honorius, he was consecrated Bishop by Asterius, Archbishop of Milan, who was at that time residing at Genoa, as had been the custom of his predecessors since A.D. 568, in order to avoid contact with the Lombards, who were Arians. He landed A.D. 634 in the country of the Gewissas, and finding that they were intensely heathen, "paganissimos," he decided to begin his missionary work among them before proceeding any further. Like Augustine, Paulinus, and other missionaries, he sought the king, Cynegils, who was more speedily converted by his teaching than Æthelbert had been by Augustine or Eadwine by Paulinus. Cynegils had reigned twenty-four years, and was probably weary of war and bloodshed. He had been victorious over the Britons, and had pushed the West Saxon kingdom further westward; but it had been overrun by the Northumbrian Eadwine, and been threatened by the Mercian king Penda. Oswald, the successor of Eadwine, sought alliance with Cynegils, probably with a view to checking the Mercian aggression. A marriage was arranged between him and the daughter of Cynegils, and a visit which he paid to the West Saxon king at Dorchester, near Oxford, to

celebrate his marriage, coincided with the conversion of Cynegils. Cynegils was baptized by Birinus, and Oswald acted as his godfather, taking him by the hand, as was the custom on such occasions, and leading him up out of the font in which he had been immersed. Thus, as Bede says, he "became by a sacred alliance the father of him whose son he was about to be through marriage with his daughter."

Oswald and Cynegils united in making Birinus Bishop of Dorchester. The See thus planted in the little village by the Thames became the parent of the great Bishoprics of Winchester and Lincoln. From Dorchester Birinus went about Wessex, and built and dedicated many churches, and by his pious labours converted many to the Lord.

He baptized Cwichelm, the son of Cynegils, and Cuthred his grandson in A.D. 639. Cwichelm died before his father, and the crown passed to his younger brother, Cenwealh. He had married a daughter of Penda, the heathen king of Mercia, and refused to follow his father's and brother's example in accepting the Christian faith. It was a critical moment for Christianity in Wessex. But, in the words of Bede, he who rejected the heavenly kingdom presently lost his earthly one.

He put away his queen and took another wife. Penda sought to avenge the insult by invading the West Saxon kingdom, A.D. 642. Cenwealh sought refuge in flight to East Anglia, where he sojourned three years in the court of Anna the king. Anna and his family were devout Christians, and under their influence Cenwealh embraced the faith. In A.D. 648, with the aid of his nephew Cuthred, he regained his kingdom, and one of his first acts was to build a Church at Winchester, which Birinus consecrated. Two years afterwards Birinus died and was buried at Dorchester, where the beautiful old Church of St. Peter and St. Paul probably marks the spot on which Cynegils was baptized, and the original Church of Birinus was built. Meanwhile the court of Cenwealh had been visited by

a bishop named Agilbert, a native of Gaul, who had been studying for some years in Ireland, which was at that time a great centre of learning and religion. Cenwealh, appreciating his piety and erudition, placed him in the See of Dorchester, which he administered for ten years. But it seems that the Bishop never mastered the West Saxon language: the king becoming weary of his foreign speech, secretly imported another bishop named Wine, who could talk Saxon although he had been ordained in Gaul.

Cenwealh placed Wine in the royal city of Winchester, thus dividing his kingdom into two dioceses, with one See at Dorchester and another at Winchester. Agilbert being highly offended at this proceeding, in which he had not been consulted, withdrew to Northumbria, where we find him present at the Synod of Whitby in A.D. 664, and about two years afterwards he retired to Gaul, where he became bishop of Paris.

The most interesting event in the episcopate of Wine was the consecration of Ceadda (St. Chad), abbot of Lavingham, to the See of York. Ceadda was a disciple of Aidan, and therefore belonged to the Celtic or Scottish School of Churchmen, but he had adopted the customs of the Latin Church. He came south for consecration, and the See of Canterbury being vacant, he sought the rite at the hands of Wine. In celebrating it Wine associated with himself two bishops of British race—probably from Cornwall.

Thus the Cathedral Church of Winchester became the scene of an act which was a definite step in the direction of bringing about a union between the English and the British Churches, which had hitherto been divided on various questions of liturgical usage. Christianity had clearly softened the relations between the two races—conquerors and conquered—in the West of England. The act of Wine illustrates also a certain independence, not to say isolation, of the West Saxon Church, of which the first three bishops had all



Statue of St. Hædde,
FROM THE ALTAR SCREEN, WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

By permission of the publishers of *The Great Screen of Winchester Cathedral*.

been consecrated abroad. A bishop in close connexion with Canterbury would not have ventured to invite the co-operation of British bishops in an act of consecration, as the Celtic rite differed in certain respects from the Roman. And as a matter of fact the consecration of Chad was considered irregular, because Wine was held to be an intruder, and further to have committed an error in associating with himself bishops who were regarded as schismatical. Wine at any rate did not rise above the moral standard of the day, for he was not proof against simony, the peculiar vice of the Church in Gaul where he had been consecrated. For some reason unrecorded, Cenwealh took a dislike to him as he had to Agilbert, and expelled him from his kingdom. He took refuge in Mercia, and bought the See of London from King Wulfhere, who had established his supremacy over the East Saxons.

The West Saxon See remained vacant for four years. At the expiration of this period, Cenwealh, who had been much harassed by his enemies, and had suffered heavy losses, was seized with remorse, and sent messengers to Agilbert, now bishop of Paris, inviting him to return to his old diocese. Agilbert not unnaturally refused to abandon his new charge, but recommended his nephew Leutherius or Lothere, a presbyter, as well worthy to be consecrated bishop of the West Saxon See. Lothere was respectfully received by the king and his people, and was duly consecrated in the Cathedral at Winchester by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Lothere, who died in A.D. 676, was succeeded by Hædde, who was consecrated by Theodore at London. He is described by Bede as a good and upright man, who adorned the episcopal office rather by his natural inborn goodness than by learning. But he was the friend of learned men, foremost amongst whom was Ealdhelm (St. Aldhelm), at that time Abbot of Malmesbury, who in writing to him about law, mathematics, and other branches of learning, addresses him as his "peculiar patron." Hædde translated the remains of Birinus

from Dorchester to Winchester, thus depriving Dorchester of its last pretensions to Cathedral rank, and definitely fixing the West Saxon See in the Church of St. Peter and Paul at Winchester. Birinus was canonized in popular estimation, and for centuries miracles were supposed to be wrought at his tomb.

Cenwealh had died in A.D. 672, and the government of Wessex seems to have lapsed for some years into the hands of Ealdormen. Coedwalla, a member of the Royal house, was expelled, but in A.D. 685 he "began to strive for the kingdom." In A.D. 686 he conquered the South Saxon kingdom and the Isle of Wight, and recovered the West Saxon throne. During the period of unsettlement, Hædde refused to comply with an order of Archbishop Berhtwald, that the diocese should be divided. In A.D. 704 the West Saxons were threatened with excommunication by a national Synod unless they complied with the decree.

The death of Hædde in A.D. 705, and the settlement of the kingdom under Ine, removed the difficulty, and with King Ine's consent the diocese was divided by a synodical decree. A new See was planted at Sherborne, with a diocese to include all the country west of Selwood Forest. This comprised Dorset and part of Wilts, and as much of Somerset and Devon as had been conquered from the Welsh. All the West Saxon territory east of the forest remained to the See of Winchester. This included Hampshire, Berkshire, Surrey, and part of Wilts, and Sussex, until four years later (A.D. 709) a separate See was created for the South Saxons at Selsey.

The authorities are not consistent in their accounts of the boundaries between the two dioceses. The *A. S. Chronicle* (A.D. 709) distinctly says that St. Aldhelm, the first bishop of Sherborne, was bishop *west* of Selwood, and Athelweard (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 50) calls his diocese Selwoodshire. Their statements are followed by Henry of Huntingdon, p. 110.

William of Malmesbury, on the other hand (*Gest. Pont.*, pp. 175-275), assigns

Wiltshire and Berkshire also to the See of Sherborne, in addition to Somerset, Devon and Cornwall, and criticises the arrangement as a very unequal division. To Sherborne itself he is extremely uncomplimentary, describing it as an insignificant spot not agreeable either from the number of inhabitants or pleasantness of situation, and declares that it was a marvel, almost a shame, that it should have remained an episcopal See for so many years.

Division of the West Saxon Diocese.

*Daniel, Bishop of Winchester A.D. 705-744 ;
St. Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne A.D.
705-709.*

Bishop Daniel, the successor of Hædde in the See of Winchester, was a good and learned man, and under his influence, and that of the still more learned and saintly Ealdhelm (St. Aldhelm), the first Bishop of Sherborne, Christianity made great progress in the West Saxon kingdom.

Ealdhelm was connected with a royal house of Wessex, and may have been a son of King Centwine, who died in 685. In childhood he was entrusted to the care of an Irish monk, named Maildubh, who had formed a little monastic settlement hard by the old castle of Ingelborne in the upper valley of the Avon, a spot to which he had been attracted by the charms of the neighbouring wood, which offered shelter and seclusion. After a time Ealdhelm was sent for further instruction to the school which Archbishop Theodore had instituted at Canterbury, and had placed under the care of the learned African, Abbot Hadrian, whom he had brought from Italy. This school gave quite a new impulse to learning in England. Latin, Greek, and even Hebrew were taught there, together with astronomy, music, and medicine. Ealdhelm astonished his master by the quickness with which he attained to proficiency in these studies, especially languages. He returned to his old home for a time, and earned his living there by teaching. Then he paid a

second visit to Canterbury and continued his studies until a breakdown in his health compelled him to leave. Again he rejoined the little brotherhood under Maildubh, and in 675 became Abbot, having been ordained Priest by Leutherius, Bishop of Winchester. Students now flocked to him from all quarters, some attracted by his piety, others by his learning, and the lowly settlement of Maildubh grew into a large and wealthy monastery, which under the name of Malmesbury perpetuated the memory of its founder. West Saxon and Mercian nobles conferred gifts upon the house; King Ine also became one of its benefactors, and at the instigation of Ealdhelm he built a stone church at Glastonbury. Ealdhelm corresponded with distinguished scholars in all parts of Europe. Pope Sergius heard of his fame and invited him to Rome, where he permitted him to celebrate Mass in the Lateran Church. The Pope also granted privileges to his monasteries, and gave him a store of relics, and an altar of white marble. Several of Ealdhelm's writings have been preserved, and may be read in *Migne's Patrologia*, vol. lxxxix. His Latin treatise on the praise of virginity, addressed to the Abbess of Barking, and his poem on the same subject, are somewhat involved in style, and abound in Greek words Latinized. This, however, was the fashion of the age, and William of Malmesbury says that Ealdhelm indulged in it more sparingly than most writers. His letters, and some of his Latin verses, are much simpler and more natural; his English poems, which unfortunately are few, were favourites with King Alfred.

William of Malmesbury relates on the authority of King Alfred's "Handbook," an incident which shows how Ealdhelm turned his musical and poetical gifts to good account. Finding that many of the people were negligent of attendance at Mass or hurried home before it was concluded without waiting for the sermon, he used to station himself on the bridge over the Avon and gather a crowd about him by singing a lively song, and when he had charmed his hearers in this way and secured

their attention, he would gradually glide into a graver strain, and lead up their thoughts to higher things.

The scholar, poet, and musician was also a great builder. He did not meddle with the little basilica which Maildubh had built, but by the side of it he erected a much larger church dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. He also built two other churches in Malmesbury, one of which, dedicated to St. Mary, survived unaltered to the days of William of Malmesbury in the latter part of the twelfth century, notwithstanding the rage for pulling down and rebuilding which prevailed after the Norman Conquest. William says that it surpassed in beauty and size all the churches that had been built in England before the coming of the Normans. No expense was spared in the purchase of stone and timber for its construction. One of the beams which proved to be too short was miraculously lengthened through the prayer of the holy man, and this particular beam escaped injury in two destructive fires which occurred in the reigns of Alfred and his son Eadward. Besides building churches at Bruton and Wareham and the Cathedral Church at Sherborne, Ealdhelm also founded and ruled two monastic houses with their churches at Frome and Bradford-on-Avon. At the latter place the little church (*ecclesiola*) dedicated to St. Lawrence, which William of Malmesbury mentions as existing in his day, was discovered not many years ago buried in modern buildings, and having been released from these encumbrances it now stands out as one of the most perfect and interesting specimens of that primitive Romanesque style in which our Saxon forefathers were accustomed to build.

A letter which Ealdhelm wrote to Geraint, the British king of Dyfnaint (Devon and Cornwall), is said by Bede (H.E. lib. v., c. 18) to have induced many members of the old British Church to adopt the Latin rule with regard to the date of Easter, the style of tonsure, and other usages. After he became bishop of Sherborne, he proposed to place his monasteries

under the rule of abbots, but the monks begged him to carry on his administration as long as he lived, and he assented to their petition. Animated by a truly evangelistic spirit he was accustomed to make progresses up and down his diocese on foot, preaching by night as well as by day. He was engaged on one of these missionary journeys (A.D. 709) when he fell sick at Doullting, near Wells, and here he died in the little wooden church into which he had been carried by his own desire. His body was conveyed to Malmesbury for burial, a stone cross being erected at every halting-place along the route.

Of course, after the fashion of the age, Ealdhelm was credited with the power of working all manner of miracles both during his life and after his death; but the largest amount of legendary matter always gathers round the greatest characters, just as clouds are attracted to the highest mountain tops, and there is abundant evidence, apart from legend, to prove that Ealdhelm was a man of pre-eminent ability, learning, and holiness. He was indeed a noble example of a scholar who valued learning mainly as an instrument for acquiring a deeper knowledge of Holy Scripture. "Devote your time," he says in a letter to a young student, "to prayer and the study of the Scriptures: and if you desire to occupy yourself with secular literature let it be chiefly for the purpose of understanding more intimately the sacred text, the sense of which depends almost everywhere upon a thorough acquaintance with the rules of grammar." He was the author of the forcible terse description of the advantages of Bible-reading and prayer. "In reading God speaks to me; in prayer I speak to God."

Within the district which once formed his diocese four churches still bear his name: Bishopstrow, Broadway, Doullting (the place where he died), and the Abbey Church of Malmesbury.

The creation of the See of Sherborne was the first division of the great West Saxon diocese. With the growth of the kingdom other divisions were made as we

shall presently see. Daniel, bishop of Winchester, consented in 709 to the establishment of a separate diocese for the South Saxons with its See at Selsey. At the same time, perhaps as some compensation for this loss of territory, he succeeded in annexing the Isle of Wight to his diocese, the islanders having been hitherto unattached to any bishopric since their conversion by Wilfrith in 686.

Daniel, like Ealdhelm, had been a disciple of Maildubh, and was only second to Ealdhelm himself in learning and energy. To him Bede tells us (Preface to his Ecclesiastical History) he was indebted for his information respecting the beginnings of Christianity in Wessex, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight. He was the friend and counsellor of the great and good Winfrith, better known as St. Boniface the Apostle and Martyr of Germany, who at the time of Daniel's consecration was a young monk in the monastery of Nutselle, near Southampton, distinguished alike as a diligent student and an attractive teacher; ready to help all who came within reach of his influence, rich or poor, bond or free. Inspired with missionary enthusiasm, Boniface, accompanied by two or three fellow-monks, sailed for Frisia in 716, but he could make no impression on the heathen king Rathbod, who was at that time making war on Charles Martel and destroying churches in Gaul in all directions. Boniface returned to Nutselle, and two years afterwards started again, furnished with letters of commendation from Bishop Daniel to all Christian kings, dukes, bishops, abbots, presbyters, and other "spiritual sons" charging them to show him hospitality. Two interesting letters from Bishop Daniel to Boniface have been preserved. One of these (printed in Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, etc., Vol. iii, 304) contains some very wise counsel as to the methods of dealing with the heathen. He should be careful not to insult or irritate them by over dogmatism, but endeavour to lead them on gently, and induce them gradually to be ashamed of their own superstitions by indirectly contrasting them with the truth

of Christianity. He gives an illustration of the way in which a polytheist might be puzzled by a series of Socratic questions. Had the world a beginning or did it exist from all eternity? If it had a beginning who created it? Not the gods who were admitted not to be eternal. If the world was eternal who ruled it before the gods came into being? How did the gods obtain power over the world if it existed before them? How was the first god produced? Will the gods continue to be generated indefinitely? How are men to know which of the gods is the most powerful? Another curious line of argument suggested by Daniel does not command our admiration, but it is characteristic of an age in which child-like ignorance and simplicity were often combined with sound learning and intellectual power. He recommends Boniface to show how Christians enjoy all the most fertile regions of the earth, abounding in wine and oil, while the heathen are condemned to occupy those which are frost-bound (*frigore semper rigentes terras*). At the conclusion of this letter Daniel intimates that he was suffering much from bodily infirmity, and requests the prayers of Boniface that this affliction may turn to his spiritual benefit. From another letter, written several years afterwards, we learn that he had become blind. He encourages Boniface to bear up under his manifold trials, and to exercise wholesome discipline over his clergy, but not to attempt to separate himself entirely from intercourse with the evil, which was impossible in a world where the tares must ever be mingled with the wheat. He thanks Boniface for his sympathy and prayers, and concludes in language of warm affection: "Farewell, farewell, thou hundred-fold dearer one to me, though I write by the hand of another."

Daniel resigned his See on account of his blindness in 744, and retired to his old home at Malmesbury, where he died and was buried in the following year.

III.—The See of Winchester from 745 to 862.

Depression of the West Saxon Kingdom in the 8th century.—Recovery under Ecgberht.—His supremacy.—Ealhstan, Bishop of Sherborne.—Swithun, Bishop of Winchester.

After the death of Bishop Daniel, which occurred in 745, the annals of our See are almost a blank for nearly a century. We have no record beyond a bare list of names, eleven in number, given us by William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Pontificum*, together with a few very slight notices in the *Saxon Chronicle*, and some signatures in attestation of Charters. The greater part of the eighth century, and especially the latter half of it, was a period of depression in Wessex owing to internal strife. Even the strong king Ine had scarcely been able to subdue the revolts of rebellious Æthelings, and in 726 he had abdicated in weariness and disgust and sought peace in a pilgrimage to Rome, where he died. After his departure Wessex became a scene of anarchy, and Æthelbald, the powerful king of Mercia, seized the opportunity of asserting his supremacy over the whole of southern England. For twenty years, from 733 to 754, he was recognised as the over-lord of all Britain south of the Humber. In 754 the West Saxons rallied their strength and inflicted a decisive defeat on the Mercian king at Burford in Oxfordshire, and after this they extended their power westwards over the Welsh in Devon, pushing their border beyond the Axe and the Tone, where Ine had carried it, as far forward as the Tamar. But in 786 their progress was checked by another outbreak of internal strife. The two chief claimants for the throne were Beorthric and Ecgberht. Ecgberht being defeated by his rival sought refuge at the court of Offa, the powerful king of Mercia, but Beorthric made alliance with Offa by marrying his daughter. Ecgberht was expelled, and fled across sea to the court of the renowned Frankish King Charles the Great, or Charlemagne. He accompanied Charles on the campaigns in which he beat back the Avars and other

heathen hordes that were pressing upon Western Christendom, and he probably witnessed the memorable scene in St. Peter's at Rome on Christmas Day, 800, when Charles was hailed Emperor by the people and clergy, and crowned by the Pope.

The death of his rival Beorthric in 802 set Ecgberht free to return to England. He was accepted by the West Saxons without dispute, and proved himself from the outset to be an energetic and capable ruler. No doubt his mind had been much enlarged, and he had gained much valuable experience both in civil and military administration at the court of Charles. After eight years of stubborn fighting with the Welsh in Devon and Cornwall, he established his supremacy in that region. The Welsh had been assisted in their struggle by a new and formidable foe—the heathen Ostmen, Vikings, or Danes, who having made their way into Ireland round the north coast of Scotland, were now beginning to make plundering descents upon the southern coasts of Britain. Their first appearance had been in 787, when they arrived with three long ships at some West Saxon port unnamed, where they slew the Reeve who had mistaken them for peaceful merchants. Such was the little cloud no bigger than a man's hand which was the forerunner of a long and mighty storm. Before it had assumed alarming dimensions Ecgberht had established his supremacy over all England: he had crushed the Mercian power in two decisive battles; Northumbria, weak from internal dissensions, voluntarily submitted; Kent and East Anglia were easily subdued. Thus the Kingdom of Wessex overpowered the other kingdoms, and Winchester became the capital of England.

About the same time the West Saxon Sees emerge from obscurity. The common danger from the Wiking invaders drew Church and State into close union. Ealhstan who was made Bishop of Sherborne in 824, was joint commander with Æthelwulf, the King's son, of the force which established Ecgberht's supremacy

over Kent. He was the principal minister of Æthelwulf, after his accession to the throne, in financial and military affairs, and in 845 he, in conjunction with the Ealdormen of Somerset and Dorset, inflicted the most severe defeat that the Danes had as yet suffered in an engagement at the mouth of the Parret. Hereferth, Bishop of Winchester, and another West Saxon Bishop, Wigthen, possibly his coadjutor, perished in the battle of Charmouth, where Ecgbert was defeated by the Danes in 834. In 838 Ecgbert entered into solemn compacts with Ceolnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Eadhun, Bishop of Winchester, at Kingston, by virtue of which lands at Malling were secured to the See of Canterbury, and lands at Shalfleet in the Isle of Wight, were secured to the See of Winchester. The Bishops promised on their part "firm and unshaken friendship," receiving in return from the King a pledge of "perpetual peace and protection."

One of the witnesses who signs the Winchester Charter is Swithun the deacon. This is the first direct mention of this famous personage. All that can be gathered respecting his early life is that he was of noble parentage, and received clerical orders in 827 from the Bishop of Winchester. The assertion that he was a monk at Winchester and became Prior of the Minster does not rest on any trustworthy evidence. It is more probable that he was a secular clerk who became attached as a Royal Chaplain to the Court of Ecgbert in which capacity he may have attested the Charter referred to above. The King at any rate held him in high esteem, and entrusted to him the education of his son Æthelwulf. Æthelwulf was attached to his tutor, who became his principal adviser, after his accession to the throne, in ecclesiastical and political affairs, while in those pertaining to war and finance he was guided by Ealhstan, Bishop of Sherborne.

On the death of Bishop Helmstan in 852 Swithun was elected to the See of Winchester, probably on the recommendation of King Æthelwulf, and was consecrated by Ceolnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Copies of his profession of obedience to the Primate are extant. (See Haddan and Stubbs Councils, etc., III, 633). According to William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum* II, § 108), Æthelwulf was of an indolent disposition, and had to be stirred up to activity by his two episcopal counsellors, Swithun and Ealhstan. A formidable incursion, however, of the Danes in 853 seems to have roused the King to effective exertion. The Danes crossed from the coast of Gaul with a fleet of 350 ships, landed on the north of the Thames, took London and Canterbury by storm, and having defeated a Mercian army, moved southwards into Surrey. Here they were opposed at Ockley by Æthelwulf and his son Æthelbald, who completely routed them with greater slaughter than had ever yet been inflicted on the heathen invaders. Not long after this event Æthelwulf sent his young son Alfred to Rome, probably under the care of Swithun to whom he had entrusted his education. The king himself made a pilgrimage to Rome in 855, and before going he made by the advice of Swithun his famous donation of a tenth part of his property to religious purposes. The exact nature of this grant, which is rather an obscure subject, and used to be generally misunderstood, has been carefully investigated by Mr. Kemble in his great work on the Saxons in England, Vol. II, 480—490, and his conclusions are accepted in the main by Mr. Haddan and Bishop Stubbs (Councils, etc., iii, 636). From a comparison of the several notices of Æthelwulf's donation which occur in the Saxon Chronicle, Asser, Simeon of Durham, Henry of Huntingdon, and Matthew Paris, together with the charters or deeds of gifts* (some of which, however, are doubtful), it appears that Æthelwulf did three things, at three different times: (1) he released a tenth part of the folc lands that were let either

* An early copy of one of these charters relating to the Cathedral Monastery is preserved in the Cathedral Library, of which a photograph, with text and translation will be found in the *Diocesan Chronicle* for January, 1901.

to the Church or to the thanes from payment to the crown, or other burdens, except the three indispensable obligations called the "trinoda necessitas," namely, military service for repelling invasion, the repair of bridges, and fortresses; (2) he granted a tenth part of his own private estates to religious houses, or to his thanes; (3) he decreed that for every ten hides of his own land provision should be made for the maintenance of one poor man, whether a native or an alien. The supposition of Selden, which was followed by Collier, Hume, and other historians, that these grants of Æthelwulf were the origin of tithe, or of the legal rights to tithe in England, has long since been disproved. It is clear from the Penitentials of Archbishop Theodore in the seventh century that the payment of tithe was regarded as a religious duty, and it had probably become by that time part of the common law of the Church. Several of the early Fathers of the Church, including Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine, insist upon the claim of the clergy, on the analogy of the Levitical priesthood, to the tithe of increase. The Council of Tours in 567 admonishes the faithful in urgent terms (*instantissime commonemus*) not to neglect this duty. Charles the Great made it a matter of legal obligation in 779, and it was made binding in England by the Canon of a Legatine Council held in 789, the decrees of which were accepted by the kings, and their Witan, of Mercia, Northumbria, and probably Wessex also. The donations of Æthelwulf were personal acts affecting Wessex alone; and their only connexion with tithe is that the adoption of the tenth as a measure of the king's benefactions indicates that it was generally recognised as a clerical portion.

The only other historical facts recorded of bishop Swithun are that he devoted much attention to building and repairing churches, and that he constructed a stone bridge over the Itchen, hard by the East gate of Winchester, which excited great admiration. It is in connexion with this bridge that the only miracle attributed to him in his life-time is said to have occurred.

When it was in process of building, a poor woman, with a basket full of eggs for market, crossed the temporary wooden bridge. The rough workmen rudely hustled her, and the eggs were jerked out of the basket and broken. The bishop who was superintending the work, being indignant and distressed, made the sign of the cross over the shattered eggs, whereupon all the fragments re-united. Extreme kindness and humility were his distinguishing characteristics. Like St. Aidan, St. Chad, and bishops of the Celtic school, he walked about his diocese in preference to riding, however great the distances might be; and in going to dedicate churches he frequently journeyed by night for the sake of privacy. From the same feeling of humility he desired that when he died he should be buried outside his Cathedral, where passers-by would trample on his grave, and rain drops from the roof would drip upon it. He died on July 2, 862, and was interred in accordance with his directions outside the Minster, between the north wall and a wooden belfry tower. The story of his removal a century later from this lowly grave to the new Cathedral erected by Bishop Athelwold, and the crowd of miracles which accompanied and followed the translation, establishing his reputation as a saint, and bringing fame and wealth to the monastery, must be reserved for another paper.

IV.—The Bishops of Winchester in a dark age. 862 to 963.

<i>Alfrith</i> , 862–871.	<i>Beornstan</i> , 931–934.
<i>Tunberht</i> , 871–879.	<i>Elphege</i> (<i>Ælfheah</i>), 934–951.
<i>Denewulf</i> , 879–908.	<i>Ælfsige</i> , 951–959.
<i>Frithstan</i> , 909–931.	<i>Brithelm</i> , 960–963.

William of Malmesbury records the death and burial of Swithun in 862, and adds, "Many generations passed during which this pearl of God lay hid, without fame, for nearly a hundred years." In fact more than a century elapsed before his claim to veneration was established, during the episcopate of Æthelwold, by the miracles reputed to

be wrought at his tomb. Meanwhile eight Bishops occupied the see. Their names have been preserved to us by William of Malmesbury, and in some instances by their signatures attached to charters which they witnessed.

Of the first two, Alfrith, 862-871, and Dunbert or Tunbert, 871-879, we know nothing beyond their names. Their episcopates are co-extensive with the darkest period in the history of Wessex, when the Danes were ravaging the country. Winchester was sacked in 863, and the Cathedral clergy were slain. King Alfred was driven to take refuge for a time in the marsh-girded fortress of Athelney, and in the depths of the forest of Selwood. It was here that he lighted one day on a man named Denewulf, who was engaged in pasturing a herd of swine. He had little or no learning, but the king discerned in him goodness and force of character, and on the death of Tunbert in 879, one year after the great victory at Ethandun and the peace made at Wedmore which saved Wessex, Alfred sent for Denewulf, put him through a course of instruction, and made him Bishop of Winchester. The story seems scarcely credible in detail, but we may fairly suppose that Denewulf, like Alfred himself, received his education late in life; and it illustrates that utter decay, almost extinction, of learning, of which Alfred himself complained so bitterly when he set to work to restore his ruined kingdom. He tells us that he could remember how, when he was a child, "the Churches stood filled with treasures and books, and there was also a great multitude of God's ministers," but this was "before the whole country had been ravaged and burned," and he proceeds to say that when he came to the kingdom learning was altogether decayed among English folk; "so that very few on this side Humber could understand their rituals in English, or translate anything from Latin into English. I ween there were not many beyond the Humber, and I cannot bethink me of a single one south of the Thames."* Bishop Denewulf himself has

left his testimony to the desolation of the country caused by the ravages of the Danes, for he records how his land at Bedhampton "when my lord first let it to me was unprovided with cattle, laid waste by the heathen folk; and I myself provided the cattle, and there people were afterwards."†

Denewulf was bishop from 879 to 908, outliving his patron, King Alfred. Much had been done to revive religion and civilization during this period by the exertions of Alfred and the bishops, and other good and learned men, whom he called to his aid—Plegmund, the Mercian, whom he made Archbishop of Canterbury in 890, Werfrith, Bishop of Worcester, the Monk Grimbold, and John the old Saxon, whom the King brought over from the Continent.

In 909, the year after the death of Denewulf, in the reign of Alfred's son, Eadward the Elder, a great enlargement of the West Saxon episcopate was effected by the creation of three new dioceses, one for the Wilsætas, the people of Wiltshire, with a moveable See which rested sometimes at Ramsbury, near Sarum, sometimes at Sonning, near Reading, in Berkshire, one for the Sumersætas with its See at Wells, and a third for the west country, the old province of Dyfnaint, with its See at Crediton. The year 909 is memorable for the consecration of seven bishops by Archbishop Plegmund on the same day at Canterbury: three to the new West Saxon Sees, two to the old See of Winchester and Sherborne, one to the South Saxon See of Selsey, and one to the Mercian See of Dorchester, near Oxford.

The bishop consecrated to Winchester was Frithstan. We have no record of him beyond the brief statement in William of Malmesbury that his sanctity was attested by the reverence paid to his tomb, and his learning by the size of his library which was existing in William's time; a proof of the advance which had been made in civilization under the stimulating influence of Alfred. Frithstan resigned in 931, and died two years afterwards. His successor, Beornstan, 931-934, obtained a still higher

* Alfred's Preface to the *Shepherd's Book*, ed. Sweet.

† Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*.

reputation for sanctity. Of him it is related that he said mass daily for the repose of the departed, and that he was wont to visit the Cathedral graveyard at night and chant psalms there for the souls of the dead. On one occasion when he had come to the end of the Psalms, and had added the prayer "may they rest in peace," he heard the sound of a deep "Amen" proceed from the tombs, like the shout of a mighty army underground. Being a devoted imitator of his Divine Master, Beornstan used to wash every day the feet of certain poor folk, and when the service was finished, and the people had been dismissed, he would remain on the spot for hours, absorbed in devotion. On one of these occasions he retired to his private chamber, and did not reappear. His servants, knowing his habit, abstained the whole day from intruding upon him, but at last in the dusk of the evening, they ventured to look in, and found their master lifeless. Little account was taken of his memory until the days of Bishop Æthelwold, thirty years later, to whom he appeared in a vision accompanied by two other figures. Beornstan, who was the spokesman of this threefold apparition, informed Æthelwold that his companions were Birinus and Swithun, that he enjoyed equal honour with them in the other world, and he therefore claimed to be revered in like manner on earth. Henceforth he was numbered amongst the local saints, although in a short time Swithun eclipsed him and all others in popular estimation.

Beornstan's successor, Elphege or Alfheah, had also a high reputation, not only for sanctity, but also for prophetic power. On a certain Ash Wednesday, when he had been exhorting his congregation to penitence and abstinence even from lawful pleasures, one of his hearers derisively declared that he should enjoy himself as usual in defiance of the holy man's counsel. The bystanders heard the bishop ejaculate in an undertone: "Unhappy man! I pity thee, for thou knowest not what the morrow will bring forth." The next morning he was discovered dead in his bed. On another occasion the bishop was ordaining three

candidates for the priesthood, and at the conclusion of the service he predicted that two of them would become bishops, one as his successor at Winchester, the other as Archbishop of Canterbury; while the third, relapsing into the slough of sensual ease and pleasure, would come to a miserable end. The two whom he designated for the episcopal office were Æthelwold and Dunstan. The third, Ethelstan, apostatised from his profession as a monk and plunged into worldliness and sin.

The good Bishop Ælfheah, who died in 951, was succeeded by Ælfsige, a man of a very different stamp. Six years after his appointment there was a disruption in the kingdom. On the death, in 955, of Eadred, the youngest son of Eadward the Elder, without children, his nephew, Edwy or Eadwig, was chosen king. He was only a youth of fifteen, and fell under the influence of a party which was opposed to Dunstan, who had been the principal director of Eadred. In 957 the English north of the Thames revolted from Eadwig, and elected his brother, Eadgar, to be king. Bishop Ælfsige adhered to the party which supported Eadwig, and was nominated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury on the death of Oda. Oda, like Dunstan, had been strongly opposed to the marriage of Eadwig, on the ground that his wife, Ælfgifu, was within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity. Ælfsige is said to have insulted his predecessor's memory, trampling on his grave while he boasted of his own promotion. The next night he had a vision of Oda, who predicted his impending death. Nothing daunted, Ælfsige soon afterwards set forth for Rome to obtain his pall. In crossing the Alps, the cold was intense and the snow deep. Ælfsige became insensible, and his feet were frost-bitten. His attendants killed one of the horses and plunged the bishop's legs into the warm entrails; but the attempt to restore animation was vain.

Of Brihtelm, Ælfsige's successor at Winchester, we have no record. He died in 963, and the prediction of Alfred was then verified by the nomination of Æthelwold

to the See. We must reserve some account of him for another paper as he was one of the most eminent of a group of distinguished bishops who with Dunstan as their leader accomplished great reforms in the Church. The century that we have just traversed has been a kind of tunnel through which we have had to grope our way by the dim and uncertain torch of legend, rather than history; but with the accession of Æthelwold we emerge into something like daylight.

V.—The Leader of Monastic Reform.

Æthelwold, 963-984.

We now come to the great name of Æthelwold, one of the most distinguished leaders in that revival of monasticism which marks an epoch in the history of the English Church in the latter half of the tenth century.

It has been related in the last paper how Æthelwold was ordained to the priesthood on the same day as Dunstan by Bishop Ælfheah or Elphege, who predicted that both the candidates would become Bishops, one of them as his own successor at Winchester, the other as Archbishop of Canterbury: and in due time his prophecy was fulfilled.

Æthelwold was born at Winchester in the reign of Edward the Elder, but the exact year of his birth is uncertain. His parents were in a good position, and by them he was well taught in his childhood. At an early age he obtained some office in the household of King Athelstan, and gained a high reputation for intelligence and aptitude in learning. It was by the desire of the King that he entered the ranks of the clergy, and after his ordination to the priesthood he became one of Bishop Ælfheah's Chaplains, and studied theology under him. Ælfheah desired the reformation of the monasteries, which in the general depression and disorder of the Church after the Danish invasions, had sunk to a very low condition. The Benedictine rule was not only neglected but utterly forgotten, the inmates of the houses were for the most part monks in name only, and the conven-

tual buildings were in many instances more than half ruined. The revival began with the appointment of Dunstan to the office of Abbot at Glastonbury, which he converted into a home of learning and good discipline. Here he was joined by Æthelwold, who quickly rose to the position of Dean, and helped forward the work of reformation, setting a bright example by his diligence in study and devotional exercises, and his humble industry in the cultivation of the garden, in which he worked with his own hands. He was anxious to visit some of the great monasteries on the continent, which had a high reputation for their discipline, but permission was withheld by the King Eadred, on the advice of Dunstan, who was unwilling to lose his services in England. About the year 954 the King, with the consent of Dunstan, granted him the Monastery of Abingdon. It was an ancient house, but, like others, had lapsed into a deplorable condition; the buildings were mean and ruinous, and all its estates except forty hides had fallen into the hands of the King. Æthelwold set vigorously about the work of restoration; he imported some clerks from Glastonbury, recovered the alienated lands, and with the aid of other generous gifts from the King and his mother, Eadgifu, goodly buildings were erected. King Eadred himself took a lively interest in the work, and from time to time personally inspected the progress of it. In connection with one of these royal visits a curious story is told, which proves that hard drinking was prevalent then as in later times, and that drunkenness was not considered disgraceful on a festive occasion amongst persons of high rank. The King came from Andover, where he had held a Witenagemote, and was attended by a large company of thegns, some of them Northumbrians. Having spent some time in marking out foundations and settling the height of walls, Abbot Æthelwold invited them all to dinner. The King ordered the doors to be kept fast closed that no man might shirk his share of drink. They sat on drinking all the remainder of the day, yet "the Abbot's barrel of mead wasted not

nor shrank more than a hand's breadth," so that at night the Northumbrian nobles started on their homeward journey as "drunk as hogs." After recording this miracle in favour of intemperance Æthelwold's biographer relates, without any apparent sense of incongruity, how he introduced the strict Benedictine rule from Fleury into his Monastery, how he enriched his Church with costly gifts, a massive chalice of gold, and three crosses of gold and silver, together with other articles of his own making, for, like Dunstan, he was a cunning artificer. These gifts included two bells, and a machine called "the golden wheel," hung with little bells, which made a tinkling noise when the wheel was turned, to animate the devotion of worshippers.

In 963, Æthelwold was appointed on the recommendation of Dunstan, who was now Archbishop of Canterbury, to the vacant See of Winchester. He found the Chapter of the Cathedral composed of secular clerks, utterly undisciplined, dwelling in luxurious ease with their wives, some of them divorced from their wives and consorting with other women. Of course with such a Chapter the services of the Church were shamefully neglected. Æthelwold lost no time in setting about a drastic reform. He sent for some monks from Abingdon, he invoked the aid of King Eadgar, and accompanied by one of the royal thegns and the monks, he entered the choir of the Minster as the clerks were singing the Antiphon for the day (*Ps. ii, 11*, "Serve the Lord with fear"). He threw down some Benedictine cowed frocks which he had brought with him before the astonished clerks, and bluntly told them that if they really wished to make good the words they had been singing, to "serve the Lord with fear and to rejoice unto Him with reverence, to lay hold of instruction" (*apprehendite disciplinam* in the Vulgate rendering) and not "to perish from the right way," they must immediately assume the monastic dress or depart. Only three consented to become monks, the remainder were expelled, and the monks from Abingdon took their place. The ejected clerks appealed to the king. A

large gemote was summoned to hear their cause pleaded. Some of the nobles interceded with Archbishop Dunstan for their restoration. He remained silent and pondering with downcast eye, when suddenly there seemed to come a voice from the large crucifix attached to the wall of the room in which they were assembled, crying, "It shall not be, it shall not be," and this was of course regarded as a divine intimation decisive of the question.

Æthelwold also substituted monks for clerks in the New Minster, and restored or refounded the Nunna Minster, which had been originally founded by King Alfred's wife. But his energies were not confined to Winchester or even to his own diocese. He obtained a general commission from the king to restore monasteries in all parts of the kingdom. Ely, Peterborough, and many other large houses felt his reforming hand. The corrupt houses trembled it is said at his coming, for he "was terrible as a lion to the refractory, though gentle as a dove to the meek." He was in truth much sterner than either of the two other great monastic reformers. The milder and more patient Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, used persuasion rather than force, and the severity of Dunstan was tempered by his discretion as a statesman.

Æthelwold's harsh treatment of the secular clergy naturally excited animosity, and there was a suspicion that on one occasion an attempt was made to poison him. He was taken suddenly ill when dining with some guests, but after lying down for a short time he recovered, as it was believed, by an exercise of faith. We shall not, however, readily credit the foul design imputed to the bishop's enemies when we remember that throughout the middle ages sudden illness was commonly attributed to poison, and speedy recovery to a miracle. Æthelwold undoubtedly had a violent pain in his stomach, and that is all that need be said on the subject. By those who submitted to his rule he was greatly beloved: he was specially fond of instructing young men and boys in grammar and prosody, and how to translate from

Latin into English, and he was a cheerful and encouraging teacher. The art of manuscript and illumination flourished in the Cathedral Monastery under his influence, and a splendid specimen of it survives in his Benedictional, which is preserved in the library at Chatsworth—not where it ought to be in the library of the Cathedral. It was written by a Winchester monk named Godeman, and contains the forms of benediction to be said by the bishop at the fraction of the Host on 116 Festivals. The book, which consists of 119 pages, is adorned with thirty miniature pictures and various illustrations: the capital letters and the beginnings and endings of some of the benedictions are in gold. To the poor Æthelwold was most benevolent, and during the prevalence of a famine he not only gave away all his money, but ordered some of the vessels of the church to be broken up and converted into money for the relief of the sufferers.

Soon after the expulsion of the secular clerks from the cathedral rumours became current that Bishop Swithun was testifying his approval of the change by miraculous cures of the sick and infirm. Faith in his wonder-working power rapidly increased until the burial ground was so crowded with impotent folk that it was not easy for any one to get into the Minster, and the church itself was filled with the stools and crutches of the lame and crippled who had left them there in grateful testimony of their recovery.

In 972, Bishop Æthelwold, admonished by a vision, translated the remains of his great predecessor from his lowly grave outside the Church to a shrine of gold and silver of the finest workmanship, the gift of the King Eadgar. The bodies of Birinus, Frithstan, Beornstan, and Ælfheah were also placed in rich shrines. The offerings of the pilgrims who now thronged the shrine of Swithun no doubt materially aided Æthelwold in rebuilding the Cathedral Church, which was designed on a grand scale. An elaborate description of this Church in Latin verse by the monk

Wolstan has been preserved, but the amazing turgidity of style grievously obscures the writer's meaning. All that can be made out with any degree of certainty is that it had north and south aisles, with many chapels and altars. He laid the foundations also of an eastern apse supported by a crypt, which were finished by his successor, Bishop Ælfheah II. The Church was sufficiently advanced to be consecrated in 980, when there was a grand dedication of it on October 20th to the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. Archbishop Dunstan with eight other bishops performed the ceremony in the presence of King Æthelred, and nearly every noble in the land. On the completion of the Church by Æthelwold's successor there was a second dedication, at which eight bishops were present. At the same time the Church was furnished with a "pair of organs," a terrific instrument. Fourteen bellows worked by seventy men supplied 400 pipes with wind. Two players thumped the manuals in unison, and the noise thereof could be heard all over the city.

Bishop Æthelwold not only rebuilt the Church, but restored the conventual buildings; he also conducted at great labour and cost the waters of the Itchen into many channels for the supply of the city, and introduced streams abounding with fish into the precincts of the Monastery, so as to purify every part of it. Thus the various watercourses which permeate the Close at the present day, though concealed for the most part underground, probably owe their origin to Æthelwold.

The bishop died at Beddington on August 1st, 984. His body was conveyed to Winchester and buried in his Minster on the north side of the altar. Twelve years later Bishop Ælfheah was induced by miracles to translate it into the Choir.

Æthelwold was probably quite the ablest bishop of our See prior to the Norman Conquest, and for many generations his name was honoured with an amount of veneration only second to that which was accorded to St. Swithun.



Statue of St. Æthelwold.

FROM THE ALTAR SCREEN, WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

By permission of the publishers of *The Great Screen of Winchester Cathedral*.

VI.—The Bishops of Winchester in the 11th Century,

Ælfheah (St. Alphege), 894–1005.

Kenulph, 1005–1006.

Æthelwold II, 1006–1012.

Ælfsige, 1014–1032.

Ælfwine, 1032–1047.

On the death of Bishop Æthelwold the clerks whom he had ejected from the Cathedral Chapter, and the monks whom he had substituted for them, each strove to bring about the appointment of a bishop belonging to their own order. The question was decided in favour of the monks by a vision of St. Andrew, who appeared as was believed to Archbishop Dunstan, and through Dunstan's influence Ælfheah, Abbot of Bath, was appointed to the vacant See. Ælfheah was the son of noble parents, but he abandoned the estate which he inherited from his father, and contrary to the wishes of his mother entered the Monastery of Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, where he was distinguished for his extreme humility and unselfishness, making himself the servant of all. After a time, desiring a still more austere way of life, he retired to a cell, which he built for himself at Bath, intending to dwell there as an anchorite, but he was sought out in his retreat by many, including persons of high rank, who came to him for counsel. Some of them were induced by him to turn monks, and in time he himself consented to be made Abbot of Bath; where he reformed the Convent and enforced obedience to the Benedictine rule.

His episcopate falls within the disastrous reign of Æthelred the Unready (*i.e.*, without heed or counsel), when the Northmen, who had hitherto come to plunder or to settle, embarked on the more ambitious design of conquest. East Anglia was invaded by Norwegian Vikings in 991, when the old Ealdorman Brihtnoth, who opposed them at the head of a local force, was defeated and slain after a grand and gallant struggle. In the same year Sigeric, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Æthelweard, the West Saxon Ealdorman, joined in advising the king to bribe the invaders to

spare Wessex. The expedient was forced upon them owing to the want of due preparation to oppose the enemy, and was intended to be only a temporary expedient; but unfortunately it set a precedent which was too often followed with fatal consequences. Three years later however, Bishop Ælfheah succeeded in doing a piece of good service to the State by nobler means. In 994 Olaf Tryggvissón, King of Norway, and Swein Forkbeard, of Denmark, after an unsuccessful attempt to take London, exacted a heavy tribute from Archbishop Sigeric as the price of sparing Canterbury, ravaged Wessex, and wintered on the coast near Southampton, in readiness to make a fresh inroad in the spring. During this interval Bishop Ælfheah, accompanied by Ealdorman Æthelweard, went as envoys to the invading kings. Olaf had been baptized shortly before his attack on England, Swein had been baptized in his youth but had renounced the faith. Ælfheah pleaded so successfully with Olaf that the king repented of the miseries which he was bringing on the land, was conducted by the bishop to a conference with Æthelred at Andover, and there received the rite of confirmation. At the same time he was induced to make a solemn promise that he would depart from England and never invade the country again. Olaf faithfully kept his word, and spent the remainder of his days in the conversion of his own people to the Christian faith. Swein, being deserted by his ally, soon afterwards set sail for Denmark, and for about two years after his departure the land enjoyed respite from invasion.

In 1006 Ælfheah was made Archbishop of Canterbury. The massacre of the Danes a few years before, on St. Brice's Day, was an egregious blunder as well as an atrocious crime, and naturally led to renewed invasions. The decrees of the Council of Enham, which, though undated, was certainly held soon after Ælfheah's elevation to the primacy, are conceived in a spirit of patriotism and piety which we may fairly attribute to his influence. In addition to provisions against heathenism and the

slave trade, and injunctions to monks and clergy to live strictly according to the rules of their order and the vows of their vocation, there are directions for the organisation of a fleet and national land force. But under the "redeless" misrule of Æthelred, plans of national defence, however well conceived, were never carried into effect. The miserable expedient of buying off the enemy was continually resorted to, and the state of the country was increasingly wretched, for the Danes did not desist from their ravages even when the money was being raised that should purchase their departure. In 1011 they were promised the huge sum of £48,000. On the 8th of September in that year they invested Canterbury, and after a twenty days' siege the city was taken and burnt. The Archbishop was carried captive, with many others, and the Danes detained him prisoner for seven months in their ships at Greenwich in the hope of obtaining a large ransom for him. Although he was bound, half-starved, and otherwise shamefully treated, "the word of God was not bound"; the Archbishop preached Christianity to his captors, and succeeded in converting some of them to the faith. But he steadfastly refused to pay the ransom demanded for his release; for it could not be raised, he said, without inflicting severe suffering on poor people who had suffered too much already. On Saturday, April 19th, the Danes held a great feast at Greenwich, and got drunk with wine which had been imported in ships from the south. They had the archbishop brought into their assembly, and fiercely demanded the payment of his ransom. On his refusal they gathered round him with threatening words and gestures. Their leader, Thurkill, who had been impressed by Ælfheah's preaching and conduct, and who soon afterwards became a Christian, offered to give them gold and silver, and all he had except his ship, if they would spare the Archbishop's life. But his intercession was vain; and in their drunken fury they pelted the Archbishop with stones and logs of wood, and the skulls of the oxen on which they had been feasting, until he sank to the ground in a dying state.

One of them named Thrum, whom he had confirmed the day before, clave his head with an axe to put him out of his agony. When his murderers had recovered from their drunken frenzy they probably felt remorse for their foul deed; and they permitted his friends, including, we may suppose, some of his converts in the Danish host, to convey the martyr's body to London and reverently bury it in St. Paul's Church. Eleven years afterwards King Cnut caused it to be translated with much ceremony, in which he himself took part, to the Cathedral Church at Canterbury.

Miracles were believed to be wrought at his tomb, both before and after his translation, and he became a popular and much venerated saint and martyr in the English Church. His claim to this rank, however, was questioned on technical grounds by Archbishop Lanfranc, and he imparted his doubts to Anselm when the latter, who was then Abbot of Bec, paid a visit to Canterbury in 1078. Lanfranc said he doubted not that Ælfheah was a very good man; but could he fairly be called a martyr, seeing that he had not been put to death for confessing Christ, but merely because he would not pay a ransom for his own release? The larger mind and larger heart of Anselm would not entertain the doubts and scruples of Lanfranc, characteristic of a mind somewhat hardened and narrowed by a strictly legal training. Anselm brought common sense and generous feeling, as well as good logic, to determine the question. He argued that one who was ready to die rather than commit a slight sin would certainly be ready to die rather than commit a grave sin. To deny Christ was certainly a graver sin than for a man to obtain a ransom for himself at the cost of suffering to others. Archbishop Ælfheah had died rather than commit this lighter sin; therefore, he certainly would have died rather than commit the graver one. He had died for righteousness; but to die for righteousness was to die for Christ, since Christ was perfect righteousness. Ælfheah, therefore, had a good claim to be ranked as a martyr. Lanfranc declared himself to be entirely

satisfied by Anselm's reasoning. Henceforth by his orders St. Ælfheah was venerated with peculiar honours in the church at Canterbury; and, as we all know, he has retained his place as St. Alphege in the *kalendar* of our Church. His day is April 19th.

Ælfheah was one of the last examples of a class of bishops who had been common in the early English Church, distinguished for their extreme simplicity of life and ascetic piety, which were originally due to the influence of the Celtic school of training in Ireland and Iona. His body was emaciated by rigorous fasting, and his hands were so thin and transparent that when he elevated the Host the light streamed through them. As far as possible he endeavoured to relieve every case of poverty in his diocese. He who did not relieve his poor brethren, he said, forfeited his title to be regarded as a member of Christ's body, for if one member suffered all the members ought to suffer with it. Even the ornaments of the Church might lawfully be devoted to the relief of distress when other sources failed.

Ælfheah's five successors in the See of Winchester down to the time of the Norman conquest (Kenulph, Æthelwold II, Ælfsige, Ælfwine, and Stigand) were not eminent in any way. Kenulph indeed, who held the See little more than a year, is said to have bought his bishopric; and this sin of simony became an increasing vice in the reigns of Cnut and his successor, Eadward the Confessor. Under Cnut the royal chaplains, or clerks, were largely employed in affairs of state, as was the custom on the Continent. In the reign of Eadward the body was more completely organised, and the chief chaplain, as Chancellor, was the keeper of the king's seal, which was now brought into use for the first time. These clerks were commonly rewarded by ecclesiastical preferments, including bishoprics. Not a few of them were foreigners. Cnut appointed some Lotharingians, and Eadward employed both Lotharingians and Normans.

Of Æthelwold II, the successor of Hen-

ulph (1006–1012), and Ælfrige (1014–1032) we have absolutely no record.

Ælfwine, the successor of Ælfsige (1032–1047), was one of Cnut's chaplains. He is only known to us in connexion with the absurd legend of his intrigue with Queen Emma, then quite an old woman, the mother of Eadward the Confessor. The famous story of her establishing her innocence by the ordeal of walking barefoot unharmed over red-hot iron in the Minster is of late origin and utterly unhistorical.

Some account of Stigand, who was both Bishop of Winchester and Archbishop of Canterbury at the time of the Norman conquest, must be reserved for another chapter.

VII.—Stigand, A.D. 1047–1070.

It was pointed out in our last chapter that under Cnut the custom was gaining ground of appointing royal chaplains or clerks to bishoprics. The practice was continued during the reigns of his two sons, Harold and Harthacnut, and of Edward the Confessor. It was detrimental to the Church in various ways. The royal clerks were in many instances more conspicuous for ability in secular business than for piety or religious learning; many of them were foreigners—Norman or Lotharingians, who had little sympathy with their clergy or their flocks: the bishopric came to be regarded rather as a reward for personal service to the king than as a sacred trust, and not uncommonly it was sold to the highest bidder. One of the worst specimens of this class of bishops was Ulf, a Norman chaplain of Edward the Confessor, who in 1049 was set over the vast diocese of Dorchester, which stretched from the Thames to the Humber. "He did nought bishoplike," says the *Chronicle*, "and it were a shame to tell more of his deeds."

Stigand, who at the time of the Norman Conquest held the See of Winchester and the Archbishopric of Canterbury in plurality was another example of the evils of the system described. Of his origin we know nothing. He first appears as a Chaplain of

Cnut, whom the King placed in charge of the church which he founded at Assandun (probably Ashington), in Essex, in 1020, to commemorate his decisive victory over Edmund Ironside. Stigand retained the office of Royal Chaplain under Cnut's ill-conditioned son and successor Harold, and was the confidential friend and adviser of Cnut's widow, Queen Emma, and he shared to some extent in the fluctuations of her strange career. In the reign of Harold I he was appointed in 1038 to the East Anglian See of Elmham, but was quickly ejected before he had been consecrated because, according to the statement of Florence of Worcester, Grimketel, Bishop of the South Saxons, had offered a larger sum for it. He recovered the See in 1043, and was then consecrated; lost it again when his patroness, Queen Emma, had incurred the displeasure of her son, King Edward the Confessor; was once more reinstated; and finally in 1047 was made Bishop of Winchester. From this time he seems to have succeeded in keeping on good terms with both the leading parties in the State. He played the part of mediator between the King and Earl Godwin in the quarrel provoked by the King's intrusion of foreigners into high offices, civil and ecclesiastical. His sympathies, however, were mainly with Godwin, and on the return of the great Earl from exile in 1052 and the ascendancy of the English party, when Robert of Jumieges, the Norman Archbishop of Canterbury, was outlawed and took to flight, Stigand was appointed to succeed him. The appointment, however, was from the first considered irregular, and his retention of such an important See as Winchester together with the Archbishopric was nothing short of a scandal. Pope after pope cited him to Rome to answer for his conduct, but he always evaded the summons on various pretexts. In England, although he was recognised as archbishop for all civil and political purposes such as the attestation of charters and the reception of royal writs, his ecclesiastical position was regarded with so much doubt and suspicion that men appointed to

bishopricks sought consecration from other hands than his, and even Earl Harold, his personal friend, had the collegiate Church of the Holy Rood, which he had founded at Waltham, dedicated by Cynesige, Archbishop of York. In addition to the bishopricks Stigand held the Abbey of Gloucester, and for a short time that of Ely, and is said to have obtained or disposed of many other benefices by simoniacal transactions. William of Malmesbury, although he records these iniquitous proceedings with much indignation, palliates them by remarking that they were probably due to ignorance on the part of Stigand, who, like most of the English prelates at that time, was an unlearned man, and may have deemed that ecclesiastical affairs might be conducted on the same principles as secular business.

For six years Stigand used the pallium (the badge of metropolitical authority), which the fugitive Archbishop Robert had left behind him at Canterbury. In 1058 he obtained a pallium from Pope Benedict X, probably through the influence of Harold, who made a pilgrimage to Rome about that time; but in the following year Benedict himself was deposed, as having been uncanonically appointed through the influence of the Counts of Tusculum. Thus the position of Stigand was made worse instead of better; it had become distinctly schismatical, and was held by strict Churchmen to compromise the character of the whole English Church. This argument was made the most of by the agents of Duke William, who pleaded his cause at the papal court, when he was preparing to invade England, and it helped to secure the favour of Pope Alexander II to his enterprise.

Stigand was present at the deathbed of Edward the Confessor, but it is not clear whether the king received the viaticum at his hands or those of some other prelate. The dying monarch uttered some strange words which struck most of the bystanders with awe. They were afterwards generally understood to be prophetic of coming calamities; the interruption of the old royal line by usurpers, and its restoration after



Statue of Archbishop Stigand.

FROM THE ALTAR SCREEN, WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

By permission of the publishers of *The Great Screen of Winchester Cathedral*.

three reigns in the person of Henry I by his marriage with Matilda of Scotland, the great-granddaughter of Edmund Ironside. Stigand we are expressly told was the only person who attached no significance to these utterances, and leaning over the king's bed whispered in the ear of Earl Harold that they were merely the meaningless mutterings of a dying man's delirium. The incident seems to fit in with other evidence indicative of Stigand's character as rather a hard, prosaic, worldly-minded man.

William of Poitiers and most of the Norman chroniclers assert that he crowned Harold. On the other hand, Florence of Worcester states that Harold was crowned by Ealdred, Archbishop of York, which seems much more probable, being consistent with Harold's action on a former occasion; the consecration of his church at Waltham. Moreover, it was the interest of the Normans to throw doubts of every possible kind on the validity of Harold's succession to the throne. After the overthrow of Harold, Stigand and Ealdred supported the election of Eadgar the Ætheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, at a gemot hastily held in London as soon as the news of Harold's death arrived; but as Duke William advanced upon the capital, after having secured Winchester, Dover, and Canterbury, resistance was clearly hopeless, and the electors, together with the Ætheling himself, made their submission to the Conqueror.

It would have been inconsistent with the character in which William wished to appear, of a pious and dutiful son of holy Church, if he had consented to be crowned by a prelate whose position was doubtful. William of Malmesbury indeed informs us that the Duke, with characteristic craft, had taken care to procure an order from Rome prohibiting Stigand from performing the ceremony. At the same time the Conqueror wisely refrained from subjecting him to needless indignity or insult; and so he was permitted to walk on one side of the Duke in the procession to the altar in Westminster Abbey, but Archbishop Ealdred,

who walked on the other side, performed the act of coronation.

On his first visit to Normandy, three months after he had become king, William took Stigand with him on the pretext of doing him special honour, but in reality from fear that the primate might instigate revolt in his absence.

It was the King's custom to keep the three great festivals of the Church in three of the chief centres in southern England: Christmas at Gloucester, Easter at Winchester, Whitsuntide at Westminster. On these occasions he wore his crown in solemn state and took counsel with the great men, the "witan" of his realm—archbishops, bishops, earls, thegns, and knights.

The first of these great councils, after the subjugation of the country, was held at Winchester in 1070. At this council three papal legates appeared, who placed the crown on William's head, and were treated by him with extreme reverence "as if they had been angels of God." Their presence was significant of the closer relation which was to exist henceforth between the papacy and the English Church; and it marks the beginning of the process by which bishops and abbots were systematically displaced in favour of foreigners; for the most part of course Normans.

The Metropolitan See of York had become vacant by the death of Ealdred in 1069; the See of Canterbury was now to be made vacant by the deposition of Stigand. Up to this time William had dissembled his intentions towards him; and Remigius the first Norman bishop appointed after the Conquest was actually consecrated to Lincoln by Stigand; but he was now formally tried before the papal legates and his position was pronounced invalid and untenable on three grounds: (1) that he had held the See of Winchester together with the archbishopric; (2) that he had usurped the archiepiscopal See during the life-time of Robert of Jumieges and had used the pall which Robert had left behind him; (3) that he had obtained his own pall from the schismatical pope Benedict X. Of his

defence we have no record. He was deprived of both his bishopricks and kept under some kind of restraint at Winchester for the remainder of his life. The most probable out of many stories appears to be that he was confined to the precincts of the Royal Castle with full permission to procure such food and clothing as became his station. He persisted, we are told, in leading a very ascetic life, and when his friends, especially the queen dowager, Lady Eadgyth, widow of King Edward, the "Old Lady" as she was called, entreated him to indulge himself in more comforts he was wont to declare on oath that he had not a penny to spare. After his death, however, a buried hoard was discovered, and a key suspended from the bishop's neck opened a writing-case which contained an exact description of the number and quality of the coins. Whatever truth there may be in these stories they are in accordance with the statements of William of

Malmesbury and the chroniclers which follow him, that Stigand was an avaricious man, who had bought his own preferment, and had enriched himself by the sale of high offices in the Church, and by keeping some wealthy monastic houses in his own hands. On the other hand he is said to have conferred rich gifts on Ely and on St. Augustine's, Canterbury; while to Winchester he gave a large cross together with the figures of St. John and the Blessed Virgin, richly adorned with gold and silver, bought out of money which he had received from Queen Emma. They were erected on the top of the rood-screen between the choir and nave of the Cathedral. His death occurred on February 22nd, 1072, and he was honourably buried in the Old Minster, by which we must understand the church existing before his successor, Bp. Walklin, had begun building the majestic Norman Minster which in its main substance abides to the present day.

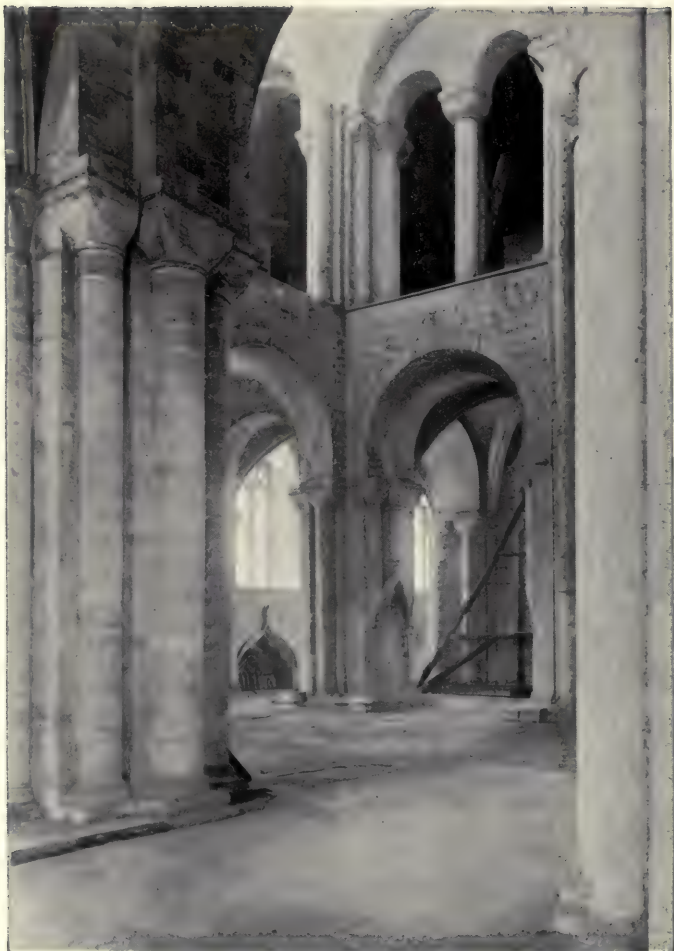
The Bishops of Winchester.

PART II.—WALKELIN TO GARDINER.

BY

THE REV. W. W. CAPES, M.A.

Canon of Hereford.



Winchester Cathedral—The North Transept.

The Bishops of Winchester.

Walkelin, 1070—1098.

The See of Winchester, from which Stigand was deposed, was assigned to the Norman Walkelin, a royal chaplain, said by one of our authorities to have been also a kinsman of the Conqueror. He had however other title to preferment. As ripe scholar and theologian, who had made his mark in the lecture halls of Paris, he had proved the insight of Maurilius, Archbishop of Rouen, who discerned the promise of his early years, and urged him to devote himself to an ecclesiastical career.

He was consecrated on the Sunday after Whitsuntide, 1070, by Ermenfrid the Papal legate who had presided at the Council when Stigand was degraded, and he took part himself soon afterwards in the consecration of the Primate Lanfranc.

The monks of St. Swithun heard before long with horror that their new bishop desired to reverse the changes made by Æthelwold a century before, and to instal secular canons in the Cathedral Church.

The sanction of the King had been obtained, and the choice of Canons made already, just as Æthelwold had his monks of Abingdon mustered on the spot to replace the canons whom he had decided to expel. The design is the more remarkable as one result of Norman rule in England was the rapid extension of conventual systems, and the rise of new religious houses on all sides, and indeed in this period regulars were installed at Rochester and Durham by Gundulf and William of St. Calais. The monks pleaded that St. Swithun had only cared to exert his wonder working grace since they had charge of the home where he was buried, and that he might withhold it if they left. It was more to the point that Lanfranc was monk as well as statesman, and his great influence barred the way. Walkelin however, supported by all the bishops who were seculars, renewed his efforts in another

quarter. It was urged that the Chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, above all others should be a centre of many sided usefulness to strengthen the chief Pastor's hands with varied ministries and counsel in freer and more elastic methods than could be possible for men bound to a cloistered rule. Lanfranc could rely upon himself, but his successor might be differently minded. Timely help from Rome seemed needful. A letter from Alexander II to the Primate and a rescript to the suppliant monks of Winchester condemned with ample use of Papal expletives the "nefarious" attacks, inspired by "diabolic" agencies, on the monastic privileges sanctioned by earlier Popes and now again solemnly confirmed. The menaced interests were saved for nearly five centuries longer, to strangle sometimes proposed reforms, and resist still oftener episcopal control. For the large powers which bishops claimed and exercised in the eleventh century in the details of conventual discipline, and the apportionment of the estates of the Cathedrals, were narrowed as time went on by frequent appeals for Papal interference, and the legalised force of customary rules.

Walkelin was present at the Council of London in 1075, in which the rule of precedence was defined by which the See of Winchester took rank immediately after Canterbury, York and London, and it was ordered that a bishop's seat should be placed no longer in a village or small town, but transferred to a city, as in the changes following from Selsey to Chichester, and Sherborne to Salisbury.

In the year 1079, Walkelin began to rebuild the Cathedral "from the foundations" on a somewhat different site from the Saxon church built by Æthelwold a century before, for the old tomb of St. Swithun was on the west side of that, but was to be seen afterwards at the north door of the new one.

In 1086 the massive masonry was ready to be covered in. Local fancy loved to dwell upon the story, recorded only by the monastic annalist of Winchester, of the host of workmen brought from far and near to level to the ground the whole of Hemptage Wood within the space of the three days specified in the royal grant of timber for the roof, of the king's rage when he passed by that way and understood the trick, appeased however by the bishop's humble plea to resign his honours and do penance for his fault. The monarch might well regret the "delectable" wood which supplied the massive timbers, for they seem to have lasted for the most part to our own days, and when during the repairs it was needful recently to replace a few of the tie-beams, the like could not easily be found to match their bulk in England, but were brought from distant lands. In 1093, in the presence of nearly all the bishops and abbots of England, the monks took possession of the new Church, and soon afterwards they carried the relics of St. Swithun from their old resting-place and laid them with all honour in the new minster on the Saints' day, July 15th. Then the next day "the bishop's men began to pull down the old church."

The tower fell in 1107, in indignation, it was thought, at the burial of Rufus underneath it, or from structural defects like those which long afterwards were fatal to the tower at Ely, built by Walkelin's brother Simeon. The changes thought needful in the proportions of the piers to strengthen the tower as rebuilt may be still noticed in the transepts; in the nave perpendicular mouldings and new arches disguise the older features, but still the core and substance of the whole building west of the choir is Walkelin's work, shorn however of some forty feet which have been pulled down beyond the present front. The whole indeed was not so soon completed, and to meet the heavy outlay the income of some estates belonging to the convent was transferred to the building fund, and besides the royal help was very welcome which in 1094 granted to the

bishop all the rents belonging to the king in Winchester together with the tolls and profits of St. Giles' fair, which was then set up by charter, to suspend for ages during three days every year all local trade for many miles around it.

Norman ascendancy in England was followed then as also across the channel by a period of architectural energy which has left its massive traces in so many of our cathedrals.

The new bishops set to work at once to replace the Saxon churches with new buildings on a far grander scale. Some, like William of St. Calais at Durham, did not live to finish the stately minsters which they planned, but during the twenty-seven years of Walkelin's episcopate there were many imposing ceremonies in the new churches at which he was doubtless present, though expressly named only in a few. Thus we read of him at Osmund's church on the hill which was then Salisbury, in April, 1092, and in the next month in Lincoln at the minster which Remigius had finished but did not live to dedicate. In 1094 he was one of the seven bishops who with the Primate and king assembled for the consecration of the memorial of the Conquest, the minster of the place of Battle.

The favour which was shown to Walkelin by the Conqueror was continued by the Red King, his successor, and he was employed in various offices of special trust. In 1088 he carried to Southampton with the great baron, Hugh de Port, the final summons to William of St. Calais, the wily bishop of Durham, who had played a treacherous part in the early days of the new reign, and embarrassed the King's councillors by his bold claim to be subject only to the judgment of the Pope, and that too on a charge of treason, and not for any ecclesiastical offence.

The next year we read of him at Canterbury, where he went with Gundulf of Rochester to punish the riotous monks of St. Augustine's Abbey. There, as in other religious houses, the intrusion of a Norman Abbot with little sympathy for the older

inmates had led to serious disturbances. The citizens sided with the malcontents, who after a bloody fray with the Abbot's servants, drove him to take refuge in the neighbouring and rival cloister of Christ Church. The monks were scourged for their offence, though privately as some solace to their feelings, and then dispersed among other convents, but the riotous citizens were blinded.

At the consecration of Anselm in 1093 Walkelin at the request of Maurice, Bishop of London, read in his stead the formal document, which described the special circumstances of the rite, and which gave occasion to the protest of the Archbishop of York, in consequence of which a change of phrase was made, and Canterbury was named as *primalial* indeed, but not the metropolitan church of all Britain.

The close relations with the Conqueror and his son must have in part determined the attitude of Walkelin during the long dispute between Anselm and Rufus, which began with the request of the former for leave to go to Rome to get the pallium from Pope Urban, as the recognised symbol of metropolitan authority. In the earlier stage of it at Rockingham in 1095 he is not expressly mentioned, and William of St. Calais was the leading figure on the King's side, in strange contrast to his earlier appeal from the King's Court to the Pope. But the Bishops seem to have been all agreed save Gundulf in supporting the demand of Rufus that Anselm, regardless of any earlier pledges, should not recognise obedience to either of the rival Popes till the King had decided on his choice, and in this they seem to have been justified by the accepted theory of constitutional usage. Not content with much discreditable indifference to the Archbishop's scruples they were ready to go further than the lay lords of the Council, and to renounce obedience and friendship towards him, if he still refused to yield. Meantime they had urged him repeatedly to win the royal favour by large gifts of money, which could be raised only by oppression of the Archbishop's tenants.

The pallium, however, was brought over by a legate, and Urban recognised by Rufus, and harmony appeared to be restored. Acting on the advice of Walkelin and Gundulf the Primate contributed liberally to the sum which Rufus paid his brother to leave Normandy in pawn to him when Robert started as crusader. Anselm's quota was taken from the Cathedral Treasury, but the income of a manor was assigned for seven years in repayment of the loan.

The peace was soon disturbed by royal indignities and threats, and Anselm in despair applied repeatedly for leave to travel to Rome to take counsel with the Pope, saying when leave was finally refused at a council held in Winchester, that he would go at any cost, and obey God rather than man. "Surely," said Walkelin, "resolute as you are well known to be, you will not persist in forfeiting your office, and the chances of usefulness which it carries with it, for the sake of a visit to the Pope." The answer was, "I shall indeed persist." It was the King's undoubted right, though harshly exercised, to withhold permission, and it was not clear that duty to God required Anselm to act on his own strong desire. A certain impatience at the Saint's uncompromising firmness is apparent in the exclamation of the Bishop, and his own character seems to have been cast in quite a different mould, with somewhat more of the courtier's pliancy, or at least of the prudence of a statesman versed in the conduct of affairs. For he retained the confidence of the Red King to the last, shared it even with the notorious Ranulf Flambard, who was execrated as the subtle contriver of so many fiscal oppressions and ecclesiastical misdeeds. Together they acted as regents for the King in 1097, when he left England for Normandy, and the many vacant benefices and plundered churches must have been a sore burden on a scrupulous conscience. Long before indeed the King had carried off, says the local annalist, a large sum from the Cathedral Treasury at Winchester.

On Christmas morn, 1098, came the royal bidding to send immediately supplies of money which could be raised only by oppression of the poor or of the Church. Weary of office, Walkelin prayed to be released, and ten days afterwards came the answer, says the chronicler, and he was freed for ever from the miseries of this sinful world.

At Winchester he left only affectionate memories behind him. The monks who eyed him at first with natural resentment as desirous to displace them in the interest of seculars, found him so full of gentle courtesies, so considerate in his demeanour towards them, that they credited, and left on record in their annals, the fancy that he deplored his early scheme of innovation as a mistaken disparagement of the monastic life. More probably, however, he had been guided by a statesmanlike perception of a large ideal of a cathedral chapter, in its relations with the bishop and the whole diocese, such as Remigius, himself a monk, brought from his Norman home to realize at Lincoln. But when that design had failed Walkelin was too generous to shew petty irritation in his treatment of the monks with whom he had no personal quarrel, to whose austere discipline indeed he was more and more attracted. For he built grandly, but lived simply, and as time went on, he grew more ascetic in his habits. His brother Simeon, whom he had made Prior at St. Swithun's, had laid stress on the use of fish instead of meat. With the help of a skilful cook he made the Lenten fare so palatable that the monks begged to have more of it instead of flesh. But Walkelin, of whose innocent guile the story may remind us, eschewed all forms of self-indulgence in the spirit of a discipline as

rigid as that of any of the monks with whom he loved to live.

One fault alone they left recorded in their annals, that he did not give them back the lands which he transferred to the building fund of the Cathedral, after his apportionment of the estates belonging to the Church, of which one half was assigned to the bishop, and the other moiety to the convent. But they owned gratefully that he added to their numbers, and enlarged the buildings for their use. And when his brother Simeon was transferred to Ely, he gave them an eminent scholar, Godfrey, for their new prior, thanks to whom the convent won an enduring reputation for refined and large-hearted hospitality to guests from every quarter.

So we may think of Walkelin as a good man, fitted by tact and natural pliancy of temper to steer warily through troubled waters and win the hearts of men alike in high and low degree. Not indeed saintly or heroic, for though himself of pure life and of unselfish aims, he left no trace of any effort to thwart the sinister designs of Flambard, or the truculent caprices of his master, and showed scant sympathy for the tenderness of Anselm's conscience, that knew no respect of persons.

They laid him finally to rest before the steps under the rood-loft, on which stood the silver cross of Stigand. His church itself was one vast monument to the good works which William of Malmesbury described as sure to defy oblivion in ages far remote. So nothing more seemed needful than the simple inscription on the marble slab above his bones—

*Praesul Walklynus istic requiescit humatus
Tempore Wilhelmi Conquestoris cathedratus.*

† Ego uualchelin uuenicān ep̃s subscripsi.

† Ego ualstanus uulgoznenſis ep̃s. subscripsi.

Autographs of Walkelin and Wulstan from the Charter of William I, A.D. 1072; now in Canterbury Cathedral.



Episcopal Seal of Bishop William of Wykeham
(1366—1404).



Episcopal Seal of Cardinal Beaufort (1404—1447).

William Giffard, 1100—1129.

After the death of Walkelin, in 1098, no appointment to the bishopric was made during the two remaining years of the reign of Rufus. It was the practice of that monarch to keep valuable benefices vacant and to appropriate meantime the income of the estates. When he died, besides the manors of Winchester, he had possession of those of Canterbury and Salisbury, and the lands of twelve abbeys, and there were loud complaints of the havoc in the estates and the oppression of the tenants by the fiscal agents who had little scruple in using their opportunities in the King's interest as well as in their own.

When appointments were made they had been secured commonly by large concessions, which impoverished for years the traffickers who bought the posts.

Henry I soon after his accession rewarded the services of William Giffard, his chancellor, who had served his father and brother in the same office, by promoting him to Winchester. His surname had no aristocratic sound, if, as it seems probable, it meant only "fat-cheeked" as a form of "joufflu," but he was always spoken of as of noble birth, and one eulogist traces his family back to Charles the Great—"magno de semine Caroly-magni." Though not yet in priests' orders he had been canon and dean of Rouen, and the consent of that Chapter was duly asked and granted as a condition of his transference as bishop to another province. He also held a castle as a fief from Robert Duke of Normandy. His apparent unwillingness to accept the office, and his strong remonstrances to the monks who took part in his election may have been sincere, but a suspicious phrase of Matthew Paris implies that like so many others in that age he had given largely to the King to secure the post, and therefore affected an unreal reluctance. He would not, however, accept the pastoral staff from the King's hands, being the first as it would seem in England to object to the custom of the Norman kings. The temporalities were made over to him, the staff was given to

him by Anselm by whom he was inducted, and it remained only to arrange for his consecration, for contrary to the custom of later ages, the forms which sanctioned the spiritual powers of the bishop came last in order.

But these were to be delayed for years, for grave difficulties blocked the way. The King, who had earnestly urged Anselm to return to England, and sought his good offices in the troublous days of the new reign, with apparently sincere promises to respect the rights and possessions of the Church, had restored at once the temporalities of Canterbury, but now required him as a matter of course to do homage to him as archbishop in the customary forms. Anselm, who had complied without scruple once before, now refused on the ground that the Council of the Vatican under Urban II in 1099 had solemnly denounced the practice hitherto observed in Norman England.

The dispute about Investitures in which the Empire and the Papacy had been long arrayed as rival forces, had caused civil war in Germany, and scored its fatal traces in many a blood-stained page of history. The symbolic forms at issue, the gift by lay hands of the pastoral staff and ring, seem somewhat trifling, but there were momentous interests at stake, which the great powers of Church and State saw clearly. In the ideal of Hildebrand, who began the strife, the claim for feudal privileges without the corresponding feudal obligations meant independence from all lay control, by means of which the clergy with their vast estates and organised forces must become the dominating power in the social system. The claim put forth at Rome in a council of 1075 had no effect in England, but Anselm was present when they were repeated under Urban; and now he would not hear of homage from himself, nor would he sanction it in others. Apart from loyalty to Rome he might well be influenced also by his own sad experience of the cringing of submissive prelates, acting as if they were the "King's men" only, and not

ministers of the universal Church. He was willing to consecrate the bishop-elect of Winchester, but not Roger and Reinelm, clerks of the royal household, who had been recently invested by the King as bishops of Salisbury and Hereford. Henry would have no distinction made between the three, and Gerard, the subservient Archbishop of York, with other prelates consented to perform the rite instead of Anselm. Reinelm refused at once to accept consecration under such conditions, and sent back the staff and ring with which he had been invested by the King, but the due preparations for the ceremony were made in London for the other two. The church was crowded for the spectacle. The consecrating bishops were just ready to ask the solemn questions when Giffard, conscience-stricken, suddenly declared that he would rather be stripped of all he had than consent to such a ministration of the rite. The proceedings ended in confusion, as he persisted despite royal threats and episcopal reproaches. He was driven away at once by the angry monarch; his temporalities were confiscated, and for five years he lived in banishment, like Anselm who after some delay and ineffectual negotiations here and at Rome was forbidden to return to England.

Giffard had, however, in 1102, before the crisis taken part in the Council of Westminster in which decrees against Simony were passed, and certain abbots found guilty of it were deposed, and stringent rules were promulgated against the marriage of the clergy. The ineffectual censures were repeated in another Council of Westminster in 1127, when Giffard and others tried to "eradicate that deadly evil out of the Church of God." These represent the other side of the ideal of Hildebrand, who while he aimed at making the priesthood a dominant social power desired if possible to raise it above the self-interest and nepotism of an hereditary caste.

The importance ascribed to Giffard's action, and the value of the example which he set are illustrated by the many letters

which Anselm wrote in his behalf. One was to the King in terms of urgent protest; another to Duke Robert to prepare him for a visit from the exile; a third to the Chapter of Rouen that it might know fully what had passed. He sent words of comfort to an Abbess at Winchester pining for the presence of her bishop. He wrote repeatedly to Giffard to urge him to be firm and patient, and to warn him that resentment shewn at ill-treatment from Duke Robert, and any wavering loyalty to his feudal lord, would be misconstrued as an unworthy bid for concessions from the King.

At length the chief powers in Church and State grew weary of the struggle. The King who had narrowly escaped the risk of excommunication and revolt was willing to give way in part. He had an interview with Anselm at the Castle of l'Aigle and restored the revenues of the See, and desired him to return to England. Anselm himself delayed till the question of Investitures was settled, but Giffard seems to have gone back at once, for his name appears among other of the bishops in a letter written from England at this time, giving a melancholy picture of the condition of the Church, and begging Anselm to come back at any cost as the only hope of securing peace to the oppressed. The Pope, who had supported Anselm somewhat feebly, now excused concession on the ground that the good Samaritan must stoop himself if he would lift up a man who is lying in the dust, a figure of speech which Henry would hardly perhaps have deemed appropriate. In the compromise effected the realities of feudal homage were retained, but the King waived the special forms of the gift of the ring and pastoral staff. On August 11th, 1107, therefore, William Giffard with four other bishops was at last consecrated at Canterbury by Anselm, with the assistance of Gerard of York and many other prelates, priests' orders having been quietly conferred on him before. No one, it was noted, could remember the ordination of so many bishops at one time in England, except when Archbishop Pleigmund or-

dained in one day seven bishops to seven churches.

Giffard seems to have regained the confidence of Henry, as an experienced servant of the Crown, if no longer Chancellor, and we read of several matters in which he was specially commissioned to act on the King's behalf. Thus he had to enquire of Anselm if the Bishop of Bangor could be transferred to the See of Lisieux, a change for which, as he was told in answer, the consent of the prelates of both provinces would be required. Early in Lent, 1108, he was sent with two other bishops to act on behalf of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. That Abbey was for a long period one of the most stiff-necked assertors of conventual privileges, and jealous opponents of the rival cloister of Christ Church and even of the Primate. It now put forth a claim to a traditional right to have its newly-elected abbot consecrated in its own church, and not in the Cathedral or the Royal Chapel. When this plea was swept aside by Anselm, it won or bought the favour of the King, who sent his envoys to beg that the point might be conceded. Anselm refused, as the precedent would be abused by other religious houses, nor would he allow another bishop to officiate in his stead in the King's presence in the Royal Chapel. Bishop William and the others, less prescient than Anselm, struggled hard to satisfy the Abbey and the King, but the only concession was that the rite took place at Lambeth not at Christ Church. Later in the year the bishop was in attendance on the King, who was waiting at the seaport to cross to Normandy. He was sent again to Anselm, who was arrested on his way by sickness, to beg him to come no further, and spare himself fatigue.

He seems to have had a special love of stately functions, for he was seldom absent at the consecration of new bishops, and by request of the Primate Ralph he officiated in his stead at the marriage, in 1121, of Henry to Adelaide of Louvain, when he agreed perhaps with a chronicler of Worcester that she was "adorned with the comely grace of a modest countenance."

He also took a prominent part in two matters of great local interest. One of these dealt with the secular concerns of Winchester. The Domesday of the Conqueror had omitted the royal city from its survey. To complete the record, eighty-six of the more substantial citizens were appointed to make a house to house inquiry respecting the lands paying the king's taxes in the town and to lay their report before the bishop and four other commissioners. The Winton Domesday did not include the ecclesiastical properties and need not now detain us further.

The second had to do with the "New Minster" of Grimbald, where the remains of Alfred had been laid, which had suffered grievously for many years. The abbot and twelve monks had fought as patriots rather than recluses, and mostly died on the fatal field of Senlac, and the Conqueror's scoff that the abbot was worth a barony and each monk a manor took effect in the confiscation of many thousand acres of their land. The palace which he built within their ground at Winchester still further cramped their already narrow site. By Rufus they were handed over to the tender mercies of Ranulf Flambard who made traffic and plunder of them in the interest of his master as well as of himself. Recent changes in the ditches of the Castle and the mill works of the streams had flooded their lowlying site, and crippled and racked the rheumatic limbs of the poor monks. Thanks to the bishop's influence the king sanctioned the removal of the abbey to the Hyde mead on the north side beyond the city walls, to which they moved in solemn procession in 1110. The change was greatly to the interest of St. Swithun's, for the buildings of the two convents had been so closely packed together, that the bells and choral services of each caused grievous disturbance to the other. The enforced grant of 800 marks made at this time to the king may have been the price of the concession, by which St. Swithun's gained the old site to the north side of the Cathedral while five days were added to St. Giles' Fair for the profit of Hyde Abbey.

There had been complaints on the bishop's part of want of personal respect in the scanty attendance of the monks of the New Minster at some of the solemn functions of the Church. A royal charter now definitely ruled the order of the procession on Palm Sunday from the Cathedral to St. James' Church beyond the Castle and the number of the monks of Hyde Abbey who were to take part in it, as also their obligations in connection with certain ceremonies on high days at the bishop's church.

There was far more friction with the Convent of St. Swithun, growing at last to what the annalist calls "enormous discord." The great expense of rebuilding the Cathedral tower, which fell in 1107, and completing the work of Walkelin taxed the resources of the bishop, and his financial expedients caused long estrangement between the convent and its head. Walkelin had expended for a term of years the proceeds of several of their manors; his successor took some of the offerings in the Minster and nine of the parish churches of which they were the patrons to use probably part of the income for the same object. The monks after unavailing protests resorted in 1122 to a strange symbolic pageant to express their discontent. They assembled barefoot in the Minster and with their crosses turned upside down they moved in slow procession round the church in direction contrary to the sun's course "to shew their bishop that as he defied canonical rule by robbing them of their customary dues so they would ignore church order in their ministrations." Two years more the bitterness continued; others were drawn into the quarrel; the king sympathised with the monks; the nobles sided with the bishop. At length the two parties were reconciled by royal intercession. "The bishop went alone into the chapter house; the monks with feet and shoulders bared fell at his feet and offered to submit to any penance for their fault. Seeing such humility and penitence, and being of perfect piety and most sweet-tempered, he fell too at their feet, and gave them all they

had asked to have restored." The advowsons of the nine parishes were secured to them by written deed. That the parishes on their side benefited by the concession is unlikely. Already the Council of Westminster in 1102 at which Giffard had been present ruled that the monks should not be too grasping in the parishes where they were patrons, or leave too meagre a pittance for the priests who served them. It was a council of perfection, for the convents were dire enemies of the parish churches. Year after year the bishops had to step in and regulate by formal deed the conditions of the vicars' stipends. The details fill a large space in the Episcopal Registers of early date, and illustrate clearly the greedy oppressions of the monks and the insolence of their servants, nor was St. Swithun's faultless in the treatment of its vicars.

In his later years the bishop felt more strongly that sympathy for the cloistered rule which was so marked a feature in that age among all classes of society. "Whenever he came back to Winchester," says the local chronicler, "he would dismount at the Minster doors, and after offering prayer with groans and even tears, would visit the monks and give them his blessing." He loved to be with them as often as he could, came frequently to their dormitory for his mid-day rest, and dined or supped with them, taking the lowest place among the novices. At last he wore the cowl himself and died in the infirmary.

The deepening of his zeal for the conventual ideal is illustrated by the character of the religious houses which he founded. The Augustinian canons, to whom his active sympathies were first attracted, lived under a rule intermediate between the old system of secular canons and that of the monastic houses, and made their way rapidly during the reign of Henry I. Welcomed in England by "the good Queen Molde" at Aldgate, they had a home found for them at St. Mary Overey's, in Southwark, where with the bishop's help they had a stately church near to which he built a palace to serve as a town house for the See of

Winchester. On the episcopal manor of Taunton he also founded another for them.

Only two months before his death in January, 1129, the "incomparable prelate," as Rudborne calls him, established the Abbey of Waverley in Surrey, daughter of Aumône in Normandy, and the first home in England of the Cistercian Order, which aimed at a stricter rule than that of Cluny, and was spreading rapidly its austerer discipline and the stern simplicity of its architectural forms.

Besides the grateful record left by his own convent, which felt sure that his earlier conduct had been due to "the malignant suggestions of wicked men," we have verses written in his honour by monks of Malmesbury, Reading, and Whitby, but we learn little really of his character from their verbose eulogies which are in marked contrast with the simple epitaph placed over his body, which was laid, like Walkelin's, before the great Cross of Stigand :—

Wilhelmus Gyffard Praesul jacet hic tumultus
Qui suscepit adhuc vivens habitum monachatus.

Henry of Blois, 1129—1171.

The bishoprics at this time were largely given to clerks of the royal household, who had risen from a humble rank—from the dust, Orderic contemptuously puts it—and done good work in the service of the Crown, but the See of Winchester had been lately filled by two men of noble birth, and was now bestowed by the King in 1129, on his nephew Henry, youngest son of Stephen Henry Count of Blois, and brother of the future King.

His early training as a monk of Cluny had filled his mind with Hildebrand's ideal of ecclesiastical ascendancy, and the discipline of the great Abbey was no longer of a kind to wean him from the pride of worldly state. Provision was soon made for him at Glastonbury, of which he was made abbot in 1126, and by special sanction of both King and Pope he was allowed to retain this office together with the See.

It was admitted on all sides that Stephen's accession to the throne in 1135 was mainly due to the personal influence of the Bishop, who threw himself without reserve into his brother's cause, over-ruled the scruples of the Primate, pledged himself that Stephen's promises to maintain the privileges of the Church would be fulfilled, and pushed on the ceremony of consecration in which only one other Prelate, Roger of Salisbury, joined with the Archbishop and himself. All three had sworn allegiance to Matilda as her father's successor on the throne. It was urged, however, that the late King's imperious will had insisted on the homage, and that the Angevine connexion was distasteful to the country, and Stephen himself most popular, while the undutiful conduct of the Empress to her father might recently have changed his purpose. Stress was laid upon the fact that there were signs of anarchy on all sides as soon as the throne was void, and a strong hand was immediately needed to grasp the reins of State.

Ardent as was the Bishop's zeal for the interests of the Church, he threw himself

without delay into action of another kind, which provoked the caustic jibe of a chronicler, that in him was to be seen a new monstrosity, which was half-monk half-soldier. He followed his brother to the war, took part in the siege of Exeter, where he noted with keen eye the signs of exhaustion in the garrison, for "their skin hung loose and flabby, and their lips were dry with thirst, and they must soon give up," and he was put in charge of the castle after its surrender. Like others too around him he began to build castles on a lordly scale at Winchester and Farnham and elsewhere, using the materials of the royal palace to raise his own at Wolvesey. Amid the anarchy of civil war there was no security for property or life save behind strong walls. Though religious houses rose on all sides in unparalleled numbers, as if to answer to the challenge of the men of war, even they were not safe from wanton outrage, and the wail of misery from every country-side seems to echo in our ears as we read in the chronicles the sad story of the general wretchedness which "grew worse and worse" till "men said that Christ and His saints slept."

Besides his failure as a ruler Stephen disappointed other hopes. In 1136 the Archbishop of Canterbury died, and the Bishop of Winchester was pointed out for his successor, was indeed, says Orderic, actually elected. But dependence on Rome had become stricter, and the Pope's consent to the transference seemed needful, involving long delay. Meantime the King and Queen opposed the choice of Henry for the primacy, and finally, after two years, Theobald was brought from the Abbey of Bec, which had already supplied Lanfranc and Anselm to rule at Canterbury.

The Bishop had other grounds for discontent. He had pledged his honour that Stephen would respect the rights and possessions of the clergy, but the promises had been already set at nought, to humour favourites or raise funds, and ere long two powerful prelates were arrested, Roger of



Winchester Cathedral—Arches of Bishop Henry's Treasury.

Salisbury and his nephew of Lincoln, and they were subjected to vile outrages and forfeiture of their castles and their wealth. Henry protested in the strongest terms, demanding release and restitution. Failing to obtain them, he had an ecclesiastical council convened at Winchester in August, 1139, and cited the King, his brother, to appear before it.

The Archbishop and nearly all the bishops came. Henry presided by virtue of his authority as Papal Legate, conferred on him some time before as a solace to his wounded feelings, but held by him in reserve and only now publicly made known. "Addressing them as scholars in a Latin speech" he dwelt at length before his brethren on the indignities inflicted on the bishops, and the confiscation of their goods. The advocates of Stephen, who had not ventured to defy the summons, urged that the treasonous designs of the bishops were well known, that they were dealt with as feudal lords rather than as ecclesiastics, and that their castles could not be recognised by canon law. They warned the clergy not to appeal to Rome, and in face of the King's threats nothing much was done. Though both Legate and Archbishop implored Stephen to give way he restored nothing, but submitted only to some form of penance.

There was further evidence next year that Henry's influence with his brother was of little weight, as his efforts to put their nephew into the See of Salisbury proved fruitless, though he was able to bar at Rome the appointment of the candidate elected.

When the Empress landed at Arundel to assert her claims in 1139, Henry advised his brother that it was useless to besiege her there, while Earl Robert of Gloucester was raising in her interest an army in the West, and when his counsel was adopted he was commissioned to conduct her on her way to Bristol. He endeavoured to arrange terms of peace between the rivals, first at Bath and afterwards in conference with Louis of France and his brother Count of

Blois, but the proposals were rejected, and the miserable strife went on. But when Stephen was taken prisoner at Lincoln in 1141, the judgment of heaven seemed to have been given against the King, and then Henry too declared against him and promised his allegiance to Matilda. In a council held at Winchester in April, in which as Legate he again presided, after separate conferences with the bishops, abbots and archdeacons, he dwelt on the failure of Stephen to do justice and keep peace, set forth at length how he had outraged the bishops, despoiled churches, and sold preferment in the convents, giving heed to evil counsel only. The clergy, he boldly said, whose special right it is to choose their ruler, now plight their troth to the daughter of the good King Henry. To the citizens of London who had been invited to be present, and who demanded the release of Stephen, as also to an envoy of the Queen, he could only repeat in substance the same speech.

Matilda had pledged herself to be guided by the Bishop, especially in Church appointments, but it was soon seen that her masterful will brooked no control, and that submission to her rule was hopeless. Then Henry turned again, and retiring to Winchester treated with the supporters of his brother. Matilda suspicious of his loyalty, followed him closely, and summoned him to her presence. "I will make ready," was his answer sent from Wolvesey, where he had taken shelter, when the castle gates above were opening for the Empress. Stephen's adherents rallied to his side, and soon the city became the battle ground of hostile factions, each with its own quarter and stronghold. The fiery missiles poured from Wolvesey carried destruction where they fell, and among the many ruined homes and churches the new buildings of Hyde Abbey and the nunnery of St. Mary were not spared. The King's forces prevailed, Matilda fled, and once more with superb confidence in himself or in the justice of his cause the Legate addressed a synod at Winchester in December, in which he set forth the causes of his reluctant

adherence to Matilda and the pledges she had broken, and the duty since God had declared against her to support King Stephen. He was heard in reverent silence by the clergy, though an envoy of the Empress roughly reproached him with his double dealing while the Legate sat unmoved.

The war dragged on, and again Henry plunged into the fray. He narrowly escaped being taken prisoner with his brother on the battlefield of Wilton, and we hear of him in arms elsewhere. The barons and their fierce mercenaries found less to plunder now in the exhausted country, and laid heavy hands on the wealth of the convents and the churches, while the bishops for the most part, says an indignant chronicler, showed base indifference to the evil work. Henry, it is true, presided over a synod in London in 1142, which excommunicated the authors of such outrages, and claimed rights of sanctuary for the yeoman's plough, while it decreed that personal violence to a cleric was a crime from which the Pope only could absolve, but example went for more than precept, and the chronicler just quoted, a partisan of Stephen, bitterly inveighs against the warlike ardour shewn, and the license given to their followers by certain of the prelates, among whom our bishop is first named.

Meantime he had been scheming to form an Archbishopric at Winchester, to be provided with suffragans at the expense of Canterbury. He might lose his authority as '*legatus a latere*' at any moment, and the Primate, Theobald, would then take rightful precedence over him. His nephew, William FitzHerbert, had been pushed into the See of York, despite strong opposition in the Chapter, which found much support from the clergy of the province and especially from Murdac, Abbot of Fountains, who brought the great Cistercian influence, with St. Bernard, into the fray. Notwithstanding the appeal to Rome, which followed, the Archbishop-elect was consecrated at Winchester in 1143 by his uncle, who might naturally hope to be strengthened by his help.

But the scheme came to nothing, though it was thought that a '*pallium*' had been sent from Rome. Pope Innocent II, on whose favour he depended, was already dead, and the legatine commission and all hope of the archbishopric were at an end. Fresh appeals were entered against his nephew of York, who was suspended and two years afterwards deposed, having been meantime entertained at Winchester with all honour by his uncle.

Archbishop Theobald had set his face against the election at York, and there had been friction already on other grounds, followed by an unseemly feud, appeals to the Pope, and much emptying of money-bags at Rome.

In March, 1148, a council summoned by Pope Eugenius III, met at Rheims. Stephen, under pressure from his brother, as it was believed, forbade Theobald to attend it, and had watch kept at the coast, but he crossed over in a frail boat at the hazard of his life, and was received with open arms. Henry was suspended for failure to be present, and had to go to Rome to secure pardon, while his castle of Wolvesey was guarded by Hugh de Puiset, his nephew, afterwards the great Bishop of Durham, (then treasurer of the See of York), who had prevailed on the citizens to close their gates against the new Primate, Murdac, and defied the excommunication which ensued.

A synod held in London in 1151 was noted for the number of appeals to Pope or legate, a practice little known in England, it is said, before Henry favoured it himself, to his own hurt however, for in this very synod there were three such appeals in which he was concerned. The monks of Hyde Abbey had been at strife with him for many years, and at Rome and elsewhere had been loud in their complaints. He had kept their headship vacant for six years and more, they urged, and applied much of its revenues to his own purposes; he had caused their Abbey to be burnt by the fireballs from his castle, and seized the precious cross and the Church vessels that

were found among the ruins. After much debate and many gifts and promises, the Bishop made his peace with the Pope and returned home.

On all sides men were weary of the civil strife, and in 1153 the two old rivals, the Primate and the Bishop, met to negotiate for peace, and the compromise which secured the throne to Stephen and the succession to Henry of Anjou, was their joint work. With this ended the power of the king-maker, as Pope Eugenius called him in effect. When his brother died in 1154 and the young ruler grasped the reins, Henry sent his treasures abroad and retired to Cluny. His strongholds were dismantled, as other '*adulterine castles*' had been levelled already. He returned a few years later, outlived his old rival Theobald, and took the chief part in the consecration of Becket, bidding him become an "Apostle Paul," if he had been, as was urged, a "persecuting Saul," but warning him privately that he must soon lose the favour either of his heavenly or his earthly master. Excused from attendance at the Council of Tours on the ground of his infirmities, he was, however, in 1164, prominent among the few great ecclesiastics who encouraged Becket to be firm in his resistance to the king, and the letters of John of Salisbury shew that he contributed substantial help to the Primate and other exiles. His attitude appears to have caused grave displeasure, for there was a rumour to which the Pope, Alexander III, referred in a letter to Becket that he intended to resign his See because of his injurious treatment by the king. He was visited however by the monarch on his deathbed in 1171, not long after Becket's murder, and spoke of the deed in terms of stern reproach.

He was buried, Rudborne tells us, in front of the high altar, and there not long ago were found in an old coffin a crozier and gold ring, which probably were his, though Leland reported that he was interred at Ivinghoe in the nunnery which he founded.

Two years before his death he had disposed of all his remaining wealth in charity, reserving hardly enough to provide a single daily meal. But he had been long before a munificent benefactor to religious houses and the aged poor. He never forgot his first love Cluny, made long visits there from time to time, used his influence with his brother to provide endowments, paid off on one occasion all the debts of the Abbey, and maintained the monks—460 in all—for a whole year at his expense, lending them at another time a thousand ounces of gold. Peter, the abbot who wrote repeatedly in grateful terms, begged him that besides and above all other gifts he would leave them his body to rest at last within their walls.

At Glastonbury on which he spent forty-five years of pastoral care, its historian records a long list of his good works, both on the abbey buildings and the manor houses, as well as the rich ornaments which he bestowed upon the church, and the special funds with which he provided for their table. All these indeed have wholly past away like most of the art treasures stored by him in the Cathedral, and the silver vessels which he gave to many of the parish churches, but one striking memorial remains, appealing to other memories than the ruins of Wolvesey, the Hospital of St. Cross which he founded by Charter in 1136, to be the quiet resting place of aged poverty, enriched by lovely types of architectural beauty.

It is quite true that the story of his treatment of Hyde Abbey seems quite inconsistent with this large-hearted charity, but only one side of the dispute is shown us in the convent pleas. We should think hardly of some of the archbishops if we had only the accounts of the monks of St. Augustine's or of Christ Church, and certainly no paltry greed can have caused him to seize for himself their revenues and cross. Bounteous himself, he encouraged in others like munificence to religious houses, as in the quaint ceremony at the dedication of the church of St. Pancras

(Lewes Priory), when William, Earl of Warren, gave seisin of the tenth penny of his rents by hair cut from his own head and that of his brother by Bishop Henry before the altar. (Charter at the British Museum.)

His cultivated tastes took many forms, on which Giraldus Cambrensis is emphatic; collections of rare animals, fine works of art brought back from Italy, ingenious mechanical contrivances, lakes and acqueducts for landscape gardening, ornaments to be stored in the treasure chamber of the Minster, as well perhaps as the Cathedral font; literary works of which one on the tomb of Arthur was known in a later age; and possibly the design of Romsey Abbey, like the earlier portions of St. Cross; these bore witness to his many sided interests.

In the spirit of his age he dealt largely in relics. Not only did he gather up the bones of kings and bishops that had been buried in the crypt, and store them carefully in leaden chests above, but he enriched the Minster further with a foot of St. Agatha, as also with a thumb of St. James which he carried off from Reading. To Glastonbury he was lavish of such gifts, for besides

sundry fragments of twelve saints he gave the convent some hair of St. John and milk even of the Virgin Mother.

In public life, amid the striking vicissitudes of his career, his guiding principle was that which he brought from Cluny, the maintenance of ecclesiastical authority as a dominating power in the State. He was true to this when he seemed to change abruptly in the civil war, for he tried to use first one and then another claimant to the throne to further the same end. He was doubtless moved by personal ambition, but in the calm self-confidence that he could do most service to the Church if he could only take the lead. In the same spirit he supported Becket when withdrawn himself by old age from the active struggle.

They admired him most who knew him best: the monks of his own three convents. They dwelt in their annals on the virtues of his private life, and they dropped the veil over the questionable doings of the politician, the castle builder, and the man of war, while they commemorated with unstinted praises his munificence and tender sympathies, and unflinching affection for his brethren of the cloister.

Richard of Ilchester, 1173—1188.

After the See of Winchester had been vacant for two years it was bestowed on Richard of Ilchester, an experienced official who had served the King already in many posts of trust. Born near Ilchester, a kinsman of Gilbert Foliot, the able Bishop of London, and possibly of Bishop Nigel of Ely, he remained till he reached manhood in the diocese of Bath, where he held some ecclesiastical appointment, and is first heard of as a clerk in the chancery under Thomas Becket, to whom he owed his advancement in the civil service, and probably his office of Archdeacon of Poitou.

A little property at Ilchester was given him by royal grant, and until he became bishop contemporary writers named him after this estate, or from his preferment at Poitiers, where he was made treasurer as well as archdeacon, without it would seem residing ever there.

The payment for his loyal services cost the King little, seeing that there was ample church preferment at the disposal of the Crown; indeed he was pointed at as a pluralist while still archdeacon. And wealth accrued in other ways, when it was known that his word would carry weight at court. Thus Abbot Robert of St. Albans sought his help to recover a benefice to which the Crown had laid claim, but the price of the favour asked was two-thirds of the value of the benefice, and to this the abbot "benignantly agreed," says the chronicler of the convent, "though it was hardly canonical to do so."

During the long dispute with Becket he was employed frequently as a confidential agent. In 1163, six times within three months, he "braved the fury of the waves" in the endeavour to procure the Pope's assent to the "customs of the realm" which Henry was bent on having formally approved. Next year when Becket fled from the court after the Council of Northampton he was one of the envoys sent to King Louis of France to prejudice him against Becket. "The King had chosen," says the monk Gervase, "those whom he knew

to be most bitter against the primate, crafty in speech, unprincipled in action, together with others who, though they loved him really, were too timid to say a word in his behalf." They crossed the channel in a storm which nearly wrecked their ship, while the Archbishop passed over the same night in a calm, and both were at St. Omer together. Finding little to encourage them in the demeanour of the King of France they went on to the Pope at Sens to complain of Becket's attitude as "a disturber of the peace of church and state," but there again they were not listened to with favourable ears.

Later on he was despatched to Germany on a mission to the Emperor Frederick, when the English government gave its adherence to the Antipope Pascal, and on Whitsunday, 1166, he was formally excommunicated by Becket at Vezelai as having "fallen into damnable heresy by devising and continuing evil works with the schismatic Teutons to the ruin of the church of God." He seems to have been much troubled by this censure, for his friend Ralph Diceto the dean of St. Paul's wrote a letter to soothe his wounded feelings, and to urge him to respect the archbishop's sentence rather than to protest in passion. Meantime he had been in friendly communication with John of Salisbury, Becket's intimate companion, whose kindly influence had delayed for a time the vindictive action of the exile. This indeed was formally repeated on Ascension Day, 1169, though it does not appear that it was provoked by any further action. A mischief-making correspondent of the archbishop, told him next year that the archdeacon was determined to do all he could to bar reconciliation, but of any such desire there is no evidence at all.

Diplomatic errands represent only an occasional variation in a laborious career. His main interests were financial and judicial, and these were important enough to occupy his life.

Richard Fitz Neal, the writer of the *Dialogus de Scaccario* in which is described the curious procedure in the Exchequer

chamber, where "the mimic contest was waged between the Treasurer and his staff and the sheriff or other accountant" round the table divided into squares like a chessboard, says that a definite place had been there assigned to Richard the Archdeacon between the Justiciar and the Treasurer, and this not by virtue of any special office which he held, but because of his expertness as accountant and his clerical skill in registration. These had raised him from subordinate posts and made his services necessary to his royal master, and when a feudal aid was levied for the marriage of the princess Matilda in 1168 he was employed throughout in the assessment and collection of the money.

Judicature and finance were intimately connected in those times, and Richard the Archdeacon who sat in 1165 as a baron of the Exchequer of Westminster can be traced year after year travelling on circuit as one of the justices itinerant in different groups of counties. Nor could his services be dispensed with after his promotion to the See of Winchester.

Already in 1171 after the death of Henry of Blois he had been made guardian of the temporalities of the See and of the lands of Glastonbury Abbey, and when the King was willing to relax his hold upon the episcopal estates, the Archdeacon was in April, 1173, promoted with four others, among whom Geoffrey, Bishop elect of Ely, had served with him in the Exchequer, and had been like him, as Dean Ralph put it, "foremost and pre-eminent in the royal household." When the Papal sanction was asked for his appointment, John of Salisbury, ignoring the repeated censures, styled him a "devout lover of St. Thomas," and the chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, praised him as "the father of the poor and our protector in our grievous strait."

The consecration of the new bishops was delayed in consequence of a formal protest from the young King Henry that "unfitting persons" had been intruded by his father without his consent into the primacy and provincial churches. The

appeal to the Pope cost the Archbishop elect much anxiety and expense at Rome where he went himself to rebut the charges of the agents of the young Henry and Louis of France, but the Papal sanction was finally obtained, and he returned to consecrate the four bishops on October 6, 1174.

Henry had been long away from England, marching to and fro against the partisans of the young princes, and the justices alarmed at the threatening state of things at home, determined as a last resource to despatch Richard, the bishop elect, as they "knew for certain that he could speak to the King more confidentially than any other, and describe clearly the danger to the public weal from the menaces of the nobles and the general disquiet of the the people." He crossed the channel speedily and found the King in conference with the Norman chiefs. They when they heard of his arrival and the object of his journey said, "if the English send that man after so many other messengers to get their King back, what else have they now to send but the Tower of London."

Next year in May a Council was held in Westminster Abbey, in which he sat on the left of the Archbishop, while the Bishop of London was on his right, and the rest in the order of their consecration. The canons of the Council dealt mainly with the life and behaviour of the clergy, who were to have their long hair shorn by the archdeacons' scissors, and if vicars, were to treat their rectors with all due respect.

A Bishop of St. Asaph was forced to resign his See, for his clergy complained that he had ceased to live among them, pleading as excuse his poverty and the danger of Welsh frays. No such complaint seems to have been made at Winchester, though they saw little of their diocesan, but then he was rich and powerful at court.

In July he was present at a court held at Woodstock, when Prince Geoffrey's election to the See of Lincoln was confirmed by Papal bull, but the young man was sent to school at Tours to get a little learning to fit him for the post.

Towards the end of July, 1176, he was sent with his old colleague, Geoffrey of Ely, to meet a papal legate, Vivian, at Northampton, and to warn him to proceed no further unless he pledged himself to do nothing without the sanction of the King; then he was busy with all the arrangements for the escort of the Princess Joanna before her marriage with the King of Sicily; and finally about Michaelmas he was appointed seneschal and justiciar of Normandy. The varied duties of his important charge detained him for a year and a half away from England, and in discharge of them says the Dean of St. Paul's, "he paid careful regard to the means of different classes, being tender of the interests of the poor, and watchful that the claims of the treasury should be duly met by the payments of the rich."

After his return to England the Bishop went back to his work at the Exchequer. In 1179, Albert, a sub-deacon of the Roman church, came to summon the English prelates to a Council at Rome. Some found excuse for non-attendance in bodily infirmities or old age, others "in underhand arrangements with the nuncio, not to be coarsely described as bribes." Richard of Winchester, at the instance of the King of France was allowed to benefit by "an honourable repose." Had he been present at this third Lateran council he might have heard with interest the strong language of the decree against pluralities, and of another which forbade clerks in holy orders to act as justices or undertake secular offices of other kinds.

Notwithstanding the need of repose which was pleaded in his behalf, he acted as Chief Justice the same year in a new arrangement of the circuits of the itinerant judges, by which five were assigned to each one of four districts, with a bishop at the head of each except the northern circuit. Dean Ralph, who has most to say upon this subject, tells us of the anxiety of the King to find honest and efficient judges, and of his recourse to various social classes for that purpose. In despair

of any better choice "he raised his eyes to heaven while scheming for his subjects upon earth, and borrowing spiritual help to further terrestrial interests, he selected men who while they lived among and ruled over their fellow men had aims, and sentiments, and aspirations more than human." For that object the Bishops of Winchester, Ely, and Norwich—all of them old officials at the Exchequer—were made Chief Justices of the realm that "if the other judges had scant regard for their earthly monarch these at least might shew more reverence for the King of Kings and not let the poor go short of justice, or the rich be favoured for their wealth." This he urges as sufficient answer to objections based on the rigour of the canon law.

The Bishop still retained the unabated confidence of the King who visited him from time to time at one or other of his manor houses on the eve of a journey to the continent or on his way back. Thus early in 1182 Henry was at Bishop's Waltham, where he made his will leaving among other legacies 5000 marks to the religious houses of England to be distributed at the discretion of Richard of Winchester and other trusted ministers, as also 300 marks for portionless maidens.

After 1183 the Bishop's name rarely appears in the contemporary records. He had in these later years more leisure for ecclesiastical interests and for the work of the diocese which must have been left before in the hands of his Official and of foreign bishops. He was present, we may suppose, in the long debate between the monks of Canterbury and the bishops at the end of 1184, when the convent reluctantly accepted Baldwin the choice of the bishops for the primacy. They sorely repented their consent, and resisted with stiff-necked obstinacy his scheme to use some of the estates of the See in the interest of scholarship and learning. The bishops generally sided with the Primate, but from the letters written by the convent three or four years later, it is clear that it counted on the sympathy of Richard of

Winchester, and had indeed already received some support from him.

He took part doubtless in the stately ceremony in his own cathedral in 1185, when King, and bishops, and abbots met to receive Heraclius the patriarch of Jerusalem, who had come with Roger de Moulins, the Master of the Hospitallers, to describe the piteous condition of the Holy Land and to urge a new crusade. The visit came opportunely for the Bishop who was dissatisfied with the administration of the Hospital of St. Cross, of which the Order of St. John of Jerusalem had been made guardian by Bishop Henry, the founder. Thanks to the King's influence, and perhaps to the hopes of active sympathy which may have led to readier concessions, a new arrangement surrendered the management to the Bishop of the diocese, and enabled him to provide for the daily food of another hundred poor. A deed was drawn up and signed at Dover, on April 10, and witnessed by Heraclius, who two months before had dedicated the Temple Church in London. In the British Museum may be seen the charter publicly exposed there, with the clear characters of the Bishop's signature and the fine impression of his seal.

The Annalist of Waverley may have had in view this anxiety to enlarge the usefulness of St. Cross when he speaks in strong terms of his charity; "he hath dispersed abroad and given to the poor, and his righteousness remaineth for ever." He records also the admirable buildings which he raised, and among them was possibly the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene commonly attributed to him on somewhat meagre evidence.

He died on December 22, 1188, and was buried on the north side of the High Altar, leaving "a good memory" behind him at St. Swithun's, writes their annalist, though we are told that they had complained of him to the King because he wished to reduce the number of the dishes served upon their table from thirteen to ten. "Woe betide your Bishop," was the answer, "if he does not cut them down to three, which I find enough for me on my table King though I am." We cannot indeed quite rely upon the sprightly stories told by Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Mirror of the Church*, but the old Benedictine Abbeys at this time "waxed fat and kicked," and there was pressing need of the reforming movements of the Cistercian and Carthusian Orders.

Contemporary notices, as well as letters written to him, imply a kindly and pacific spirit; not indeed the qualities of a scholar or divine, for he was remembered rather as the eminent financier and judge than as the "excellent prelate" of his epitaph. He had too little time and strength left after the long service of an exacting master to be able to do much in the way of diocesan activities; he had too much common sense to have any such wish to copy Becket as John of Salisbury ascribed to him, when he desired to speak handsomely on his friend's behalf. We cannot say what were the buildings which were to recall his memory from one generation to another, according to the Annalist of Waverley, and even his surname is only known to us by the monumental tablet on his tomb—

"Praesulis egregii pausant hic membra Ricardi
Toclyve cui summi gaudia sinto poli."

Godfrey de Lucy, 1189—1204.

The successor of Richard of Ilchester was like him an experienced servant of the crown, engaged also in the financial and judicial work of the Exchequer, but not so often sent on diplomatic errands. His father, Richard de Lucy, "the loyal and the wise whom all the world esteems," as he was called in varied phrases by Jordan Fantosme, the poet-chancellor of Winchester, spent a lifetime in official harness, resigning only his office of Justiciar to retire shortly before his death as canon in the convent of Lesnes, which he had founded in the parish of Erith. His son Godfrey was naturally enlisted as clerk in the King's household, and promoted to judicial work. When in 1179 four circuits were mapped out for the itinerant judges, he presided for the district beyond the Trent, while a bishop was Chief Justice for each of the other three.

He was liberally rewarded in the usual way with Church preferment. Dean of the collegiate Church of St. Martin le Grand in 1171, then Archdeacon of Derby, and Canon of Lincoln and of York, when he witnessed the will of Henry II in 1182 he held the valuable archdeaconry of Richmond, which, as Bacon tells us, "was esteemed the best for profits and privileges in England." He was unwilling therefore to resign it when elected by the Chapter of Exeter to that See in 1186, which he refused on the ground that its revenues were not sufficient for his needs. Shortly before he had been one of the three royal clerks and ministers proposed by the Chapter of Lincoln for the vacant bishopric, but rejected by the King, who said that all three were rich enough already, and that he would not consent for love or money to have any man henceforth for bishop save such as God should be pleased to choose. His decision was already made in favour of St. Hugh.

At the coronation of Richard in 1189 Godfrey followed immediately after the procession of the clergy carrying the cap which was placed by the Archbishop on the King's head after the anointing. A few days later

the new monarch, who had no such scruples as his father had expressed, made a large number of ecclesiastical appointments, and among them bestowed Winchester on Godfrey, who was consecrated on October 22 at Westminster. The same year he was made warden of Southampton.

Richard was raising funds for his Crusade by various expedients, and was ready, as he said himself, to sell the city of London if he could find a purchaser. The Bishop therefore lost no time in taking advantage of the opportunity, reclaiming the two manors of Wargrave and Meon, which had been confiscated by the Conqueror, paying three thousand pounds of silver as purchase money to the King. He gave a like sum to enjoy his own patrimony and to secure indemnity for the Cathedral treasure, as also for the stewardship of Hampshire, and the custody of the two castles of Porchester and Winchester.

The large sums with which these privileges were bought were beyond his private means, and he had recourse therefore to the treasure of the Minster, binding by formal deed himself and his successors to repay the loan, and this he actually did in great measure in 1192.

On the eve of Richard's departure for the East in March, 1190, the Bishop was summoned to Normandy with a few others of the King's chief councillors, to concert measures for the safety of the realm during his absence. How little security there was in fact was shewn by the massacre of the Jews of York in the same month. Even when the King was being crowned there had been riots, for the mob rose in blind fury, and to use the strong words of the chronicler, "sent their blood-suckers to hell, but the people of Winchester was courteous and humane, and spared its vermine." So Godfrey might rest with an easy mind away from home, and was indeed detained by illness for some time in Normandy.

Meanwhile the Chancellor Longchamp, on the strength of his authority as viceroy and the legatine commission procured for him by Richard, was lording it

imperiously in England, offending all classes by exactions in his master's interests or his own, and had stripped Godfrey of all that he had recently so dearly bought. When strong enough to travel he returned in haste and found the Chancellor in August at the Council of Gloucester, was cordially received with signs of intimate regard, but had only his family estate returned to him, losing the sheriffdom and the castles. He was present however at the Council of Westminster in October, and sat on the Legate's left. When the intrigues of John, the King's brother, with the discontented nobles shook the authority of the Chancellor, it was arranged to hold a conference at Winchester. The hostile leaders met outside the gates, each backed by some thousands of armed men, but conflict was averted, and Godfrey, and two other bishops, were deputed to name arbitrators, who agreed on terms of peace, and the threatening war cloud passed over the city.

In the revolutionary movements which later in the year resulted in the expulsion of Longchamp from power the Bishop took a leading part. He went with three other prelates to the Tower of London, where the Chancellor was besieged, to deliver the ultimatum of the barons and to require him to deliver up his seal and castles. But "though readier of speech than any of the party he was silent," says Richard of Devizes, in the course of the dispute which followed, and left to a bitterer enemy the task of being spokesman. He had restored to him the castles of which he had been deprived, and shewed apparently no special sign of animosity to the fallen statesman. He was included however in a list of John's advisers and abettors who, on the strength of a papal mandate, were excommunicated by Longchamp, but the sentence passed unheeded.

There is no notice of any further action on his part during the two years of social confusion due to Richard's captivity and John's intrigues, save that he joined Archbishop Hubert and other bishops at Westminster in February, 1194, in a formal

sentence of excommunication against John, and an appeal to the Pope against the legatine authority of Longchamp.

On Richard's return from captivity it was clear that he resented the Bishop's attitude to Longchamp during his absence, for he came to Winchester, and there on April 15th he took away once more the sheriffdom and castles, as well as the two manors that had been bought, not however restoring the purchase money, but stripping him also of a large part of his family estate. It was no wonder that after this treatment he did not care to be present at the ceremony when Richard appeared in the Cathedral in stately procession with his crown upon his head.

Of Godfrey's history for the next four years nothing is recorded, but in 1198 he was sent with four other bishops to propose terms of agreement with Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, who after his long quarrel with his chapter and with Richard had at last obtained papal letters in his favour, but the negotiations came to little, and Richard died soon after.

The Bishop took part in the coronation of John in May 1199, but was prevented by sickness from attending the general council of Westminster convened by Archbishop Hubert in September, 1200. He witnessed, however, the homage of William, King of the Scots, in the following November, and on the next day took part in the funeral ceremonies of St. Hugh at Lincoln. There he heard perhaps, if not a spectator, of the testimony to the wonder working power of the Saint, when a thief careless of the gravity of the occasion, stole a woman's purse, and finding his hands paralysed, broke out as he stood there into a Latin poem on the incident, and finally renouncing Satan and all his works regained his manual strength.

In the long struggle of the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, to maintain what they held to be their rights, and to limit the powers of the primate, men of influence on all sides were drawn into the fray, but Godfrey seems to have been

neutral, and was named by the King in 1189 one of the arbitrators to arrange terms of peace between Archbishop Baldwin and the convent. Nor did their letter of complaint in 1191 after the violent arrest of Geoffrey of York at Dover draw from him more than a cautious answer which expressed sympathy indeed for Geoffrey, but made no hostile comment on the Chancellor in whose name the arrest was made.

After his withdrawal in his later years from the concerns of State owing to royal disfavour, the Bishop seems to have devoted himself to the interests of the Minster and the City. In the former a new tower was begun and finished in 1200, as we read in the Winton annals. In 1202 a confraternity was instituted for the fabric fund of the Cathedral, intended to last for five years. The Early English structure at the eastern extremity, between the gable end of the Church and the fifteenth century work of the Lady Chapel, was the building in which this guild was concerned, and the Norman chapel with its apse which before extended beyond the presbytery was replaced by the new aisles, required probably by the processions of the pilgrims who came to visit the shrine of St. Swithun, over which stood the tower raised a few years before.

Another local work which he took in hand was to improve the navigation of the Itchen waters by means of a new canal which enabled vessels to make their way from Southampton through Winchester to Alresford, near which was his manor of Bishop's Sutton. At the town, then relatively much more important than in later days, a great lake was made which drained the neighbouring marshes and served as a reservoir to regulate the water level. Market privileges were provided there with the Bishop's help, and the town itself called by him Newmarket, but the name found no popular acceptance and was soon dropped. A charter of King John empowered the Bishop and his successors to charge certain dues on merchandise conveyed through the channel opened up to navigation.

In addition to these works of wider usefulness, he gave largely to the house of the Austin canons at Lesnes, founded by his father, the endowments of which ultimately passed to the Hospital of St. Bartholomew in London.

He died in September, 1204, and was buried in the central aisle of his own addition to the Cathedral, probably under the large slab of grey marble, which was formerly pointed out as covering the tomb of King Lucius, just outside the Lady Chapel.

It does not appear that any epitaph was inscribed upon his tomb, and of his character contemporary records do not speak in much detail. Of the confidence felt in his capacity and judgment his official career gives ample evidence. Giraldus Cambrensis mentions his fluent speech and ready wit. Richard of Devizes calls him a man of no slight merit and reputation, and says that such was his benignity and moderation that even in angry moments his conduct to his subordinates always had a savour of gentleness. But the lively monk of St. Swithun's was so fond of jibes and sarcasms that it is not always easy to be sure that his phrases are seriously meant.

The other chroniclers who eulogised the preceding bishops have in his case no last words of praise or blame, and do not even mention his benefits to trade by the improvement of the old waterways. But if we find in contemporary literature unusual reserve as to the Bishop's character, there is no lack of eulogy of his city in his time, of the gentle charities of its monks, the wisdom and liberal spirit of the clergy, the courtesy and good faith of its citizens, the beauty and chastity of its women. It is the monk of St. Swithun's however who paints the picture, and possibly in a mocking spirit, as indeed in the whole story in which it is imbedded, that of the Christian boy murdered there as a Paschal victim by his Jewish master, in which the writer clearly has no faith.

Peter des Roches, 1205—1238.

In Peter des Roches we see a prelate of a different type from that of his immediate predecessors, though, like them, trained in the service of the Crown. In close attendance on three kings in succession, his tastes and aptitudes had been determined by the special interests of Richard "the lion-hearted," whom he followed as knight and clerk and chamberlain. At Richard's court it was said in bitter jest that "he was more conversant with martial exploits than with the preaching of the Gospel." By quite different qualities again he must have won the confidence of King John, to whom he adhered faithfully when others were estranged by the monarch's crimes and follies. He had his reward indeed. Treasurer of St. Hilary's at Poitiers, Prior of Loches, Dean of St. Martin's at Angers, with grants of lands and lucrative appointments, he was promoted to the See of Winchester in 1205, and though the election was disputed, it was confirmed after profuse expenditure at Rome, where he was consecrated by Pope Innocent III on the Sunday before Michaelmas.

He brought back with him a commission to act as Receiver General of Peter's Pence, but the orders given for the collection were ignored both by Church and State. In the troublous times of the Interdict, which followed John's refusal to accept as Primate the Pope's nominee, Stephen Langton, and his seizure of the estates of Canterbury, Peter of Winchester is prominently named among the evil councillors of the King. His lands indeed were included in the general confiscation of Church property, but were soon restored, including even the manors of Wargrave and Meon, of which Bishop Godfrey was said to be deprived, and he remained in England when other Bishops left. Throughout he took a leading part on the King's side, both in the camp and in the council chamber, being associated with Geoffrey Fitz-Peter the Justiciar in the war in Wales in 1209, and in the charge of the kingdom in 1213, when the King proposed to cross over to Poitou.

When Fitz-Peter died he was made Justiciar in 1214, to the disgust of the barons, who "were indignant that an alien should be set over their heads," and "their anger became fury," writes a chronicler, "when he used his power to carry out his master's bidding to humble the pride of the stiff-necked nobles." At the signing of the Great Charter at Runnymede he was prominent on the King's side, and was, with the Nuncio Pandulf and the Abbot of Reading, commissioned to excommunicate the rebellious barons. By virtue of the Papal mandate they actually suspended Archbishop Langton, who declined to publish the sentence in his diocese, and by like authority they excommunicated also Lewis of France and all his partisans.

When King John died in 1216, Peter was one of his executors and took the chief part in the coronation of the young Henry at Gloucester, and became his guardian in concert with the Earl Marshal and the legate. Next year he was at Lincoln as "experienced in warlike matters" among the leaders of the army, by which the "excommunicated Frenchmen" were ignominiously routed. A contemporary poet describes at length in old French the adventurous spirit of the Bishop, who made his way through a storm of hostile missiles into the castle of Lincoln, encouraged the Lady Nicola who was besieged in it with promise of succour, and then issuing by a postern gate found a disused entrance into the town which had been walled up but could be cleared. Returning to the camp he led a storming party through the walls into the town.

He was less confident of his prowess on shipboard, for shortly afterwards when the reinforcements sent to Lewis by his wife were on their way across the Channel, and Hubert de Burgh at Dover was eager to attack them before they could land on the coast, he and the Earl Marshal are reported to have answered, "We are not marines, or pirates, or fishermen, but you can go to your death." Hubert accordingly "having fortified himself with the viaticum of sal-

vation and donned the courage of a lion" sailed out and routed the invaders, while Peter was content to put on his episcopal attire and go forth to meet the victors with cross and banners and solemn forms of thanksgiving. The peace of Lambeth followed shortly and the Tower of London was handed over to him by Lewis when the French forces retired; the castles of Winchester and Newark, with the county of Southampton, were also entrusted to his charge.

The position of the Bishop as guardian of the young King's person was now a very strong one, and for some years his name constantly recurs in the Patent Rolls as drawing up or witnessing the official documents of the Crown, or authorising them with other members of the Council. His influence was only balanced by that of the Earl and the Justiciar. While it was their policy to restore the forms of constitutional government and to have it administered by English hands, he was the leading figure among the foreign servants of John who schemed and fought to retain their privileges and keep their hold upon the castles which had passed into their hands. The struggle lasted on for many years, and his intrigues were traced or credited in the repeated movements of open defiance or of secret plot which hampered the efforts of the loyal ministers. Already in 1219 on his deathbed, if we can trust the French poet, the old Earl advised his son to take Henry out of the Bishop's custody, and this was done for a time at least, though it was almost needful to use force.

But he thought it prudent to retire from the scene awhile. First in 1221 he went on pilgrimage to Compostella, having his will before he started formally sanctioned by the King. There was some suspicion of treasonous intrigues with France, whose ruler boasted of support from English nobles, but of this there was no proof. Then while present at a solemn function in his own cathedral he put on the Crusaders' badge and had royal letters written to empower him to call for contributions for

the enterprise. It was too late, however, to join the Christian warriors at Damietta, to the archbishopric of which he had been elected, for the Crusaders had been forced to surrender it already, so abandoning the Holy War awhile he found other scope for his energies at home. In 1223 a conspiracy was made by certain barons to take by surprise the Tower of London, but failing in their scheme, they fled in haste. Summoned to answer for their conduct they made profession of their loyalty, but demanded the removal from power of Hubert de Burgh as a waster of the treasury and oppressor of the people. Hubert, who was present, broke out into passionate reproaches, charging Peter des Roches as the author of all the mischief, the malignant cause of all the misery brought about in the times of King John and his son. The Bishop, freely rendering railing for railing, threatened to drive the Justiciar from his seat of power, even at the cost of all he had, and rising from his place in council retired muttering curses as he went with the barons who were privy to the plot.

Meanwhile the young King had been declared to be of age; the Bishop's personal relations with him were less close, and his influence at court was weakened. He was clearly in league with the foreign adventurers who were being forced to surrender their castles to the King. He sent one of his clerks to move the Pope on their behalf. He shewed openly his sympathy for the audacious Fawkes de Bréauté when an outrage on one of the judges itinerant led to the capture of the castle of Bedford in 1224 and to the confiscation of his lands. The long letter in which Fawkes pleaded for the intervention of the Pope implies throughout his intimate relations with the Bishop, whose position became now precarious. Some sort of reconciliation with his rivals had been brought about by the Archbishop, and the Pope had written to Henry in his favour, but the castles were taken from his custody in 1224, and he was summoned to answer for encroachments in the forests of Hampshire, though the Chase

of Crondall had been purchased by him from the Crown. Provoked by these or other challenges he issued in full synod a sentence of excommunication against any who disturbed the rights of the Church by their aggressions.

In 1227 the Justiciar, whose control over Henry's mind was now complete, advised him to announce in council his intention to take affairs of State into his own hands, and to remove from Court the Bishop and his confidants who "who had long acted as the King's pedagogues." For a time his ambitious schemes were checked at home, but in the East there were battles to be fought and laurels to be won. Once more he volunteered for a crusade, with many others, possibly like them, encouraged by the vision of the crucifixion seen in the heavens by a travelling fishmonger at Uxbridge. The energy shown by Peter in the East was "laudable," "strenuous," "magnificent," according to the chroniclers who have but few words of praise for him at home. He was busy in Syria fortifying Cæsarea and Ascalon and Joppa before the Emperor Frederic arrived to take the lead, and with him he made triumphal entry into Jerusalem. He won there the respect of both Emperor and Pope, whom he helped afterwards to reconcile. On his way back in 1231, at the Pope's request, he arranged a truce with France, and finding the King engaged in a campaign in Wales, he "brought him more help than all the other bishops." The campaign ended, he invited the court to spend Christmas at Winchester, where he entertained them with sumptuous magnificence.

He soon regained complete ascendancy over the weak mind of Henry, and in 1232 caused the chief Ministers of State to be removed, replacing the treasurer by Peter de Rievaulx, his creature if not his son. Against Hubert de Burgh, the Chief Justice, his old rival, extravagant charges were brought forward, and a charter of indemnity, granted by King John, was swept aside, on the ground urged by the Bishop, that its force expired with the donor. Influential citizens were warned in

sinister terms not to screen the fallen statesman from the fury of a London mob, from whose hands he hardly escaped, only to be dragged from St. Edmund's chapel where he had sought sanctuary. Matthew Paris describes in indignant terms the swarm of needy and unscrupulous Poitevins and Bretons who were welcomed here by Henry, 2000 at the least, to occupy the royal castles, and be entrusted with his wards—and be his treasurers and judges, while the Bishop closed the King's ears to all complaints of the oppression and misrule.

Protests, indeed, were vehement enough. Richard, the Earl Marshal, first frankly warned the King that the magnates of the realm would not serve on his Council so long as he pampered the intrusive aliens, but the Bishop retorted that the King was free to summon whom he would to defend his crown and humble the pride of his rebellious subjects. The Earl was driven to take up arms, only it was believed to fall a victim to the Bishop's wiles. Then Friar Bacon, preaching before the court, told the King plainly that he would have no lasting peace till Peter des Roches was driven from his side, bidding him, with a play upon the name, as a cautious mariner beware of dangerous "rocks." Soon voices were raised in the Parliament of Westminster, October, 1233, against the evil councillors by whose intrigues loyal and upright men were forced into exile and ruin without trial by their peers. "There are no peers in England, as there are in France," was his insolent reply, "and the King may punish any found guilty by the judges he appoints." The other Bishops present with one accord threatened to excommunicate the King's chief advisers. He appealed against them to Rome, where he had been consecrated by a Pope. The prelates returned to the charge in Parliament, February, 1234, and brought a lengthy indictment against the malign influence which made John forfeit his people's love, lose Normandy, and risk the interdict and the ignominy of a tributary realm. To that was due the general discontent, the

crown's natural supporters ousted by aliens who lorded it over them in castle, treasury, and hall of justice. Finally, in April the new Archbishop Edmund, with other prelates present, threatened to excommunicate the King as well as his advisers if he still refused to listen. The "pious" Henry then gave way, and "sent Peter back to his diocese to attend to the care of souls, and meddle no more with the concerns of State."

The Primate further exposed the forgery of a treacherous letter, written and sealed in the King's name, to the Irish chiefs by his adviser and without his knowledge, which brought the Earl Marshal to his doom. The Bishop, finding the port of Dover closed against him, sought shelter from the storm with Peter de Rievaulx in the sanctuary of his cathedral, and after deeds of violence from their pursuers, laid church and city under interdict, but this was taken off next day, when the offenders sued for pardon.

The cure of souls to which he was dismissed did not occupy him long, for next year the Pope, Gregory IX, summoned him to his side to do him service in the long struggle with the turbulent Romans. "The Pontiff knew that he had ample means, and if they failed the See of Winchester could supply them freely, and he preferred to see the treasure expended in his own behalf rather than elsewhere. Besides the Bishop in his youth had been in close attendance on the magnificent warrior king Richard, where he had learned to use the breastplate more than priestly vestments."

In the war, in which Emperor and Pope made common cause, he conducted a large force of men-at-arms and bowmen to Perugia and helped the Pope to defeat the Romans at Viterbo with great slaughter. He returned about Michaelmas, 1236, in shattered health, and his career was nearly closed.

In 1237 he declined to go as the King's representative to a conference summoned by the Emperor at Vancouleurs on the ground that Henry had written years before to the Emperor to express mistrust of him,

and that his position would therefore be ambiguous. The next year he advised the King to give way to the remonstrances of his people angered by the foreign favourites who had flocked in since his marriage with Eleanor of Provence. His death soon followed, 9th June, 1238, at Farnham, "to the irreparable loss," says Matthew Paris, in marked contrast to his earlier language, "of the councils both of Church and State." He was buried in the Minster, where he had desired to be laid in a modest tomb to rest. His heart was taken to the Abbey of Waverley.

He made a "noble" will, we read, in which large sums were bestowed on the religious houses which he had founded. These were Hales Owen and Titchfield of the Præmonstratensian order and Selborne for Austin Canons. The Hospital of God's House at Portsmouth was also his creation. Two Cistercian Abbeys, Netley and Clarté Dieu were built by his executors out of funds which he had provided for the purpose. To the house of St. Thomas of Acre, for which he had done much already, he left fifty marks. Both Orders of the Friars found a home at Winchester during his time, and for the Dominicans he built a house near the East Gate in 1232.

In the same year he received instructions from Henry to sell the underwood of the Forest of Bere, for the making of the "great hall of the King in the castle of Winchester," and further works were carried out under the direction of Master Elias of Dereham, to fit it for the scene of royal solemnities and the administration of justice.

To the Bishopric he bequeathed a large number of sheep and oxen to be a permanent live stock, to be left by each later prelate to his successor.

There is a significant silence as to his character in the *Annals of Winchester*, but a chronicler of Tewkesbury says that the monks of St. Swithun's found him "hard as a rock," and in 1219 he was instructed by Papal mandate to correct them, notwithstanding their "frivolous appeal." Trained in the habits of the camp, he

brought an imperious temper alike to the administration of his diocese, which he ruled "vigorously" (*M. Paris*), and to the affairs of State, where his absolutest principles clashed with the policy of wiser statesmen, whose opposition he resented with vindictive rancour. Such influence might well encourage the violent self-will

of the tyrant John, and dominate and pervert the wavering feebleness of Henry. Not a plausible courtier, truckling to the whims of his three royal masters, but a strong man, greedy of power, loving magnificence and stirring action, with little in him of the bishop but the name.

William de Raleigh, 1243—1250.

The six years that followed the death of Peter des Roches were a distressing time for the community of St. Swithun's and for the interests of the see. King Henry, who looked on the valuable appointments in the church as the suitable provision for the Queen's kinsmen, had set his heart on putting William, elect of Valence, into Winchester. The monks, disliking what they heard of him, and unwilling to accept a foreigner after their late experience proposed to elect William de Raleigh, a justice of the King's Bench, who was "learned in the law and estimable in all respects" (Matthew Paris). As a confidential minister he had laid the King's necessities before an assembly of barons and prelates in 1236, proposing that the council should control the expenditure of their grant. He had also been commissioned at the council convened by the legate Otho, in 1237, to warn him that nothing should be done to prejudice the rights of the Crown, and had then remained as canon of St. Paul's to watch over the interests of the state while the constitutions were being published there. Henry, seeing that they were loath to accept his nominee, and wishing to gain time, raised the frivolous objection that the two archdeacons, though electors, were not present in the deputation who came to ask for leave to proceed to an election; then hearing that they were all agreed in their choice of William of Raleigh, he angrily remarked that his tongue had caused the death of more than the sword of William of Valence, whom they had rejected as a man of blood. The monks, therefore, were afraid to proceed further in the matter. The estates of the see were sadly used meantime, while the numerous train of the royal household passed from one to another of the manors, and lived on the produce of the lands. Concerned at the havoc caused by their delay, the convent again took steps to fill the vacant place. The king again interposed, even in their chapter, with cajolery and threats to make them accept his favourite, but they chose Ralph Neville, the Chancellor, in his stead,

hoping that Henry would not reject his trusted minister. Loyal service, however, went for little when kinsmen or favourites were concerned. Royal influence and ample expenditure at Rome caused the election to be quashed, and the great seal was taken away to mark the displeasure of the monarch.

Next year the convent of Coventry and the canons of Lichfield elected William de Raleigh for their Bishop, as did also shortly afterwards the monks of Norwich, in the hope in both cases to escape rebuffs by the choice of a confidential servant of the Crown. As a man "of remarkable prudence and experience," he balanced deliberately the advantages of the two offers, and finally accepted Norwich in 1239, preferring to be further away from the "untamed Welshmen." He was consecrated at St. Paul's, where he was welcomed by a vast assemblage who fondly hoped that "as for a Matthew passing from the receipt of customs to the apostolate, so there would be joy in heaven when the courtier rose to be a saint."

At St. Swithun's meantime the troubles thickened. A monk, Andrew of Brittany, "with secular force and the help of the two archdeacons," as a Papal letter puts it, but really with royal sanction, was thrust in as prior, an extravagant and overbearing foreigner, who stifled resistance with a strong hand, and canvassed busily in the interests of the elect of Valence. He indeed was removed by poison at Viterbo in November, but without immediate relief to the poor monks who had sent to Rome to gain the Pope's consent to their rights of free election, but had incurred thereby the displeasure of the King, who resented vehemently the exclusion of the aliens whom he favoured, and the election of William de Raleigh in which they finally persisted in 1240.

In vain did Archbishop Edmund complain repeatedly to the Pope of the King's oppression of the Church, and the bishops in their synod denounce the evil councillors by whose advice so many churches were

left vacant, and canonical election was obstructed. In spite of such ineffectual censures men came in 1241 to St. Swithun's from the court, to ascertain, with the help of the new prior, which of the monks persisted in their votes for William de Raleigh. These were violently expelled and subjected to shameful treatment at the instance of the prior. The Bishop of Norwich was called upon to pledge himself that under no conditions would he consent to be translated to the See of Winchester, but to this he steadily refused assent, notwithstanding insults and injurious treatment from officials encouraged by the court.

At this time for nearly two years the Papal throne was vacant, and the question of the election to Winchester was in abeyance, but Innocent IV, soon after his accession in 1243, ratified the choice of the harassed brethren of St. Swithun's, and in November the Papal mandate was delivered for the translation of William of Norwich to the long vacant See of Winchester. He started without delay to take possession, received in London pledges of obedience from such of his clergy as lived near the capital, but was warned by the King, whose favour he solicited, not to claim the bishopric without his leave. He pleaded the over-ruling duty of obedience to the Pope, and ignoring the frivolous objections raised to the validity of his appointment, made his way in haste to Winchester on Christmas Eve. The gates of the city were closed in his face by the Mayor, to whom peremptory orders had been sent, and the Bishop was insolently refused admittance first at one gate and then another, as he humbly walked barefooted round the walls vainly seeking for an entrance. Finally he turned from prayers to threats, and laid the city under an interdict, including in his anathema the monks who were the partisans of Prior Andrew. The manors of the see were seized and the tenants roughly handled by the fiscal agents, his supplies of food even were cut off, and public notices were issued denouncing any form of help or hospitality that might be offered to the Bishop. He took refuge first with the

canons of Southwark and then slipped away on shipboard to St. Valery and Abbeville, where he found protection from the King of France.

Meantime there was no lack of influence used in his behalf. Three bishops first at Westminster rebuked Henry for his tyranny and threatened to place his chapel under interdict. Grosseteste of Lincoln wrote to Boniface, the elect of Canterbury, to beg him to intercede with Henry, and remind him that further opposition would violate the Great Charter. Boniface urged Henry to recall the fugitive; Pope Innocent, not unmoved perhaps by the large offering of 8000 marks lately made in his behalf, not only swept aside the special pleading and the promises of Henry's envoys, but sent an indignant letter to insist that the Bishop should be reinstated in his office and possessions. Under this pressure resistance died away; the intruded Prior Andrew had already died; Henry of Susa, Warden of St. Cross, the prime mover in the intrigue, retired with his gains to his own land, and after terms had been made which secured the interests of the courtiers and clerks who had worked on the passionate caprices of their master, the exile was recalled, landing at Dover on April 5, 1244, to the joy of all but the mischievous intriguers, for "it was hoped that his experienced wisdom and good feeling would further the best interests of the realm as well as those of his own see." He repaired presently to Winchester and removed the interdict, but the new prior and rebellious obedientiaries were deposed and the poor mayor was dealt with even more severely for the offence which he had been forced to give.

There is little evidence of the good effects which had been hoped from his return. Again and again during this period Pope and King laid their extortionate hands on all classes of society in England, and the tacit compact between them made resistance almost hopeless. The Bishop of Winchester was one of the joint committee appointed to deal with the King's requirement of a subsidy in 1244, which was

granted after much debate. Two years later the Pope's demand of a contribution from the English clergy was addressed to the Bishop of Winchester and Norwich, and was enforced because the King failed to defend them, loudly as he had blustered at the first. There is no trace of independent action on the Bishop's part. Though reconciled with the King his relations do not seem to have been cordial at first, for he begged Henry to dine with him when he kept Christmas at Winchester in 1247, as a token that all past offences were forgotten. The following Christmas the same sign of amity was given.

In 1249 the Bishop took part in a remarkable scene in the Great Hall of the Castle at Winchester. Some merchants of Brabant had been robbed on the high road by men whom they recognized in the King's court. In fear of reprisals from their ruler Henry broke out into passionate reproaches at the bailiffs and freemen of the county in which robberies had been so frequent, and ordered that the gates of the Castle should be shut upon them. The Bishop begged him to remember that there were many strangers present who could not be confederates in the crime, but himself formally excommunicated all who had taken part in the offence. The jury impanelled would not convict, being in league with the offenders. They were charged with collusion and imprisoned in a dungeon, from which they were to be taken to the gallows. A fresh jury was sworn, who after much delay, fearing for their lives, gave a true verdict, and the guilty were convicted, including many men of substance and official rank in league with the brigands whom it was their special duty to arrest.

The same year the Bishop crossed the Channel to visit the Pope at Lyons, and remained in France eleven months to reduce his establishment and domestic charges. He had incurred heavy debts to secure the Pope's support, and struggled on with crippled means till death released him from his embarrassment in September, 1250, at Tours, where he was buried in St.

Martin's church. On his death-bed he showed profound humility, professing that he had vilified and betrayed his Master's cause, and must be carried to meet the Eucharistal elements, rather than wait to receive them on his bed.

The chroniclers tell us of the qualities of his head, rather than his heart, and we cannot lay much stress on the sally of King Henry that his tongue had such a fatal edge. That he could, however, be merciless as a judge and share the people's prejudices, appears in the treatment of the Jews of Norwich, who were accused of circumcising a Christian boy and reserving him for crucifixion. They appealed to the protection of the Crown as King's bondsmen, but the "prudent and wary Bishop," as Matthew Paris calls him in his narrative, claimed them for the justice of the Church, and four of them were bound on horses' backs and dragged horribly asunder.

He had intimate relations with the high-minded Grosseteste, but he was far from sharing the sensitive scruples which caused that Bishop to brave the displeasure of a Pope and refuse to institute to a church his unworthy nominee. The prelate would not allow an ignorant boy to be presented to a cure of souls, and wrote to deprecate the anger of his friend, the Treasurer of Exeter, who threatened an appeal; Grosseteste, however, offered to provide the youth with a pension till he was fit for better things. Nor did he shew much patience when Grosseteste wrote a learned and earnest letter to beg him to use his influence as judge to bring the law of the land into agreement on a certain point with the principles and canons of the Church, but scoffed at what seemed to him the Bishop's tedious and dogmatic style.

Straightened as he was by debts incurred at Rome, he could not be generous like earlier bishops in benefactions to religious houses. The monks of Waverley, indeed, recorded that he had provided them with space for a fish-pond which they made near Chert, but they paid half a mark for it yearly as ground rent. The brethren of

St. Swithun's noted less gratefully that he restored a privilege of which he had before guilefully deprived them. In their own chronicle they said no more, but Matthew Paris represents them as complaining that they had gained nothing by their long stand in his behalf against oppressed treatment. They had hoped to find in him a

kindly and considerate chief, but he had proved a hard taskmaster, and had caused them irreparable loss (*immisericorditer persequabatur et irrestaurabiliter dampnificavit*). The spirit of faction had been busy with them under the priors set over them by Henry, and harmony was not restored for some years later.

Ethelmar de Lusignan, 1250—1260.

King Henry heard with scant concern of the death of William de Raleigh, and sent two trusted clerks without delay to put pressure on the convent to elect Ethelmar de Lusignan, son of the King's mother, Isabella, by her second husband, Hugh Count of La Marche. He had been pressed lately on the monks of Durham when that see was vacant, but they protested that he was too young and illiterate to fill so high an office, and were firm in their resistance, though Henry threatened to keep the see unfilled for many years till his brother was of riper age. The wealthy church of Wearmouth and many other benefices were heaped on Ethelmar, who required a special steward to keep account of the revenues thus accruing.

A fortnight later Henry went to Winchester to bring his personal influence to bear upon the monks, and a unique scene in the Chapter House is described for us by Matthew Paris. The King took the prior's place and preached a sermon on the text, "Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other." "Righteousness he would personate himself," though his whole life belied the claim; "the cloister should be," he said, "the home of peace. By a woman came the Fall, through a woman came Salvation. So for his wife's sake he had been hard upon the convent, that would not make her uncle bishop, but for his mother's sake he would be gracious to it if they would only choose her son. Born in their city, baptised too in their font, he himself had a right to their devotion; his brother right nobly born and a goodly youth would long warm them with his kindly light."

The monks though not charmed by his eloquence knew what to expect if they refused compliance. From the Pope there was no hope of help; the King, they thought, would veto St. Peter himself, if he were living. Their sufferings at the last vacancy had done no good; they dared not face the like again. So with heavy hearts they nominated Ethelmar, provided papal sanction should be given for an acolyte of twenty-three to be made bishop.

In due course the dispensation came, obtained by the customary means, and Ethelmar was allowed to enjoy the temporalities of the see, without performing any spiritual functions, and to retain besides the ecclesiastical revenues already held, and, adds Matthew Paris, "it is believed that there is no church of note in England from whose breasts he had not sucked the milk." The latter privilege, indeed, was for a time revoked owing to what a Papal letter calls "the importunate instance of certain persons." In July, 1251, he came to Winchester to take possession, with a numerous train of followers, in the presence of his brothers and the king, and gave a splendid banquet at which few Englishmen took part.

Next year, however, when Pope Innocent IV sent a mandate to the bishops demanding a tenth of the church revenues for the king's use, Ethelmar, though with some hesitation, joined the bishops, headed by Grosseteste of Lincoln, in refusing the demand, and was therefore furiously reproached by Henry, who reminded him that he should have been the last to oppose the interests of a brother who had cast to the winds every obligation in order to enrich him.

A few days afterwards a bitter feud broke out between Ethelmar and Boniface the Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the appointment of the Warden of St. Thomas' Hospital in Southwark, to which both laid claim. The nominee of the former, and the chief official of the latter, were both violently handled, being dragged, the one to Maidstone, the other to Farnham. The Primate fired off excommunications, which the Bishop-elect declared of no effect, but which the Archbishop went to Oxford to repeat. High powers intervened; the king for his brother, the queen for her uncle, the bishops for their Order's sake, and at the beginning of 1253 the kiss of peace was interchanged.

Henry was now importunate for a money grant, as if intending to start on a crusade, and the bishops taking advantage of his

needs, sent in April to entreat him to allow the church liberty in her elections. Cruelly enough they chose for spokesmen, Archbishop Boniface and the Bishops of Salisbury and Carlisle, with Ethelmar, who all owed their places to his favour. The king with bitter irony deplored his errors in the past, and begged them to help him to correct them. Reminding first the other three how little their promotion had been due to their merits, he turned next to his brother, "and you too my Ethelmar, as all know, I raised to the noble eminence of Winchester by appealing to the fears and self-interest of the monks, though a pedagogue would have been more suitable for your ignorant youth. So set me the example all of you by resigning the posts you had no claim to, and I on my part will promote henceforth only men of worth." His hearers told him hastily that they did not wish to speak about the past, but only had in view the future. Even after this sally the weak king is said to have desired to present Ethelmar to York when it fell vacant in 1255, and refused to accept the Chapter's choice, but their Dean, whom they elected Archbishop, secured without delay the sanction of the Pope, which overruled objections.

The monks of St. Swithun's had soon cause to rue their weak compliance with the King's desires. Ethelmar demanded, as their abbot, that his sanction should be asked for the appointment to every office in the convent, and the obedientiaries should present to him their yearly statements of accounts. This was contrary to old usage and seemed likely to lead to further claims and they refused. In the same spirit they had declined in 1239 to let the legate Otho see their treasure, and had braved his spiritual thunders. They had now to face dangers much more real. Ethelmar besieged them in their church and tried to starve them to submission. To escape further outrages many found a shelter in friendly convents of their Order, and the Prior sought redress at Rome, but was too poor to pay the necessary price. The places of the fugitives were taken by

men of low character, thrust in by Ethelmar, who despoiled the community, plunged it in debt, and would not stay his hand though even Henry begged him to desist. Poor prior William of Taunton, who had been honoured with mitre and ring and staff by Innocent IV before his death in 1254, had vainly been lavish of his gifts at Rome; Andrew intruded in his place, had bribed more heavily. The terms of peace enforced by Pope Alexander IV in 1256 pensioned off William and brought the fugitives back perforce to St. Swithun's, where Andrew ruled in triumph by the grace of Ethelmar, who paid off the convent's debt to Caorsin moneylenders, but took some of its manors in return. There was no harmony however there, and the chronicler says that he prefers to drop the veil over the quarrels which impoverished and disgraced the convent to the gain only of the venal Court of Rome.

By this time England had grown weary of misrule. At the Parliament of Oxford in 1258 the observance of the Great Charter and other concessions were demanded, and conceded by Henry and his son. His brothers insolently refused compliance, but gave way before the resolution of the barons, and fled to take refuge at Winchester with Ethelmar. There was no safety there however from the gathering storm. Surrounded by the barons in arms they were forced to swear that they would leave England and not return to it without the consent of the King in council. Their estates were confiscated, and finally the Bishop elect and his brothers, with many Poitevins, crossed the Channel on July 18th to Boulogne, where they asked Louis IX for a safe conduct through his territory for themselves and permission for Ethelmar to stay in Paris for a while as a student at the University. Money on its way to them was seized at Dover and elsewhere, and the safe conduct through France was granted only after requests humbly repeated. Meanwhile dark stories were abroad of outrages committed by the servants of the Bishop elect, and of English nobles poisoned by his brothers in his house. It was believed

that the barons would never consent to his return, and the confiscation of his property seemed to include the temporalities of the see, and his title to the post.

The monks of St. Swithun, regarding the see as void, elected, in 1259, Henry de Wengham, the Royal Chancellor, whom King Henry agreed willingly to accept if the Pope would not consent to consecrate his brother, but that minister himself prudently held back, alleging his scant knowledge of theology and personal unworthiness, and notwithstanding these misgivings, he shortly afterwards accepted the See of London in its stead.

An embassy had been sent to Rome to complain of Ethelmar's conduct, which indeed had been sufficiently disclosed

before by Prior William, but Pope Alexander IV swept aside the charges brought, influenced by arguments which may be easily imagined, and on Ascension Day, 1260, he consecrated him at Anagni, sending the Archbishop of Tours as legate, with plenary powers to lay England under an interdict in case of refusal to allow him to take possession of his see. He died however on his way at St. Genevieve's in Paris in December, and what might have been a grave difficulty was thus disposed of.

His heart was brought to Winchester and buried near the High Altar, and strange to say, the convent chronicler believed that miracles had been wrought over the spot. There may have been redeeming features in his character, but as to these history is wholly silent.

John of Exeter, 1262—1268.

Pope Urban IV after consecrating Ethelmar de Lusignan at Rome, had sent off the Archbishop of Tours with a friar to threaten England with an interdict in case of refusal to admit him. They returned at once when they heard of his death at Paris in December, 1260, but may have already sent instructions, as it appears that the Cathedral at Winchester was actually laid under an interdict by a Papal notary from the fifth to the twenty-fourth of January, on account probably of the attitude of the monks. They proceeded to take steps for an election without delay on February 3rd, and fifty-four of them, together with the representative of the Archdeacon of Surrey, voted for their former Prior William, then Abbot of Middleton, who had suffered much on their behalf at the hands of Ethelmar and the Pope. Party spirit, however, and sinister influence were still at work in the Convent. Seven monks voted for the intruded Prior, Andrew, whom the chronicler of Dover contemptuously styles "illiterate (ydiotam) and utterly unfit." He indeed had to resign his office soon after proceedings in the Archbishop's court, but appealed at once to the Pope, and sent agents to Rome with weighty compliments to influential members of the Curia.

Andrew had been the tool of Ethelmar and the foreign favourites, and as might be expected, the royal assent to his election was given in July, 1261. Pope Urban, however, swept aside both of the nominees of the convent, and on September 10th, 1262, consecrated to the bishopric John of Exeter, otherwise called John Gervase, who had been Chancellor of York, and was opportunely then at Rome. The Winton annalist says somewhat vaguely that the action of the convent was annulled, "not on personal grounds but from motives of another kind." The chronicler of Dover is more outspoken: "The Bishop was generally believed to have risen to that eminence by divine providence because of his great learning, but so thought shortsighted men. He had obliged a minister of the Papal Court with 6000 marks, and had afterwards

to give as much more to the Pope, who had heard of the transaction, and so left the Court conscience-stricken with the guilt of Simony." Papal letters shew that the Bishop had borrowed money at Rome from merchants of Florence and Siena exactly to the amount which has been stated. On his way home he found King Henry in France, ill-content with the galling restrictions imposed upon him by the barons, but he urged the monarch to return, and at his request celebrated mass at Westminster in memory of King Edward the Confessor, going on to Winchester for his enthronement there at Christmas.

Andrew, who seems to have regained his post as prior, was not present, we are told, "fearing for his skin," but the Bishop lost no time in deposing him, and had him locked up in the Abbey of Hyde. "By cunning fraud he managed to escape and had the effrontery to spread the fiction that he was freed from prison fetters by the merits of the martyred Thomas." He had indeed links of a chain hung up at Canterbury as a thankoffering to the Saint. He then made his way to Rome to intrigue in a congenial sphere.

On May 27th, 1263, the Bishop, by special mandate of the Primate, consecrated at Canterbury the Bishops of London and Salisbury, both of whom afterwards showed their sympathy, like him, with the popular movement in the civil struggle.

The new Bishop had come to rule in Winchester in troublous times. There, even more than elsewhere, the distractions of social strife were felt in their full force. There was bitter feud between town and gown. The Bishop and St. Swithun's, which was now released from foreign influence, were for the people and the great Earl, their champion; the city was faithful to the cause of Henry of Winchester, who had loved his birthplace well. The citizens did not spare the possessions of the church when they levied enforced contributions for the royal cause. More than that, in their fear lest the monks should open the King's Gate, of which they had control, to

let in the partisans of Simon de Montfort, they made a fierce attack upon the convent, and burned the King's Gate and the old church of St. Swithun's over it, together with the neighbouring houses.

Next year, 1264, the citizens suffered far worse things than they had inflicted on the convent. Simon de Montfort, the younger, besieged the town, and gaining an entrance through one of the windows of the monastery, forced the nearest gate, so obtaining possession of the city and enriching his followers with a "vast quantity of plunder which was divided among the satellites of Satan" (*Wykes*).

If the Bishop was in residence at Wolvesey he had little to fear from the besiegers, for he had taken a decided part in their interest, being one of the representatives of the Barons in the conference at Brackley, and prominent among the Bishops on the side of the Earl of Leicester. The year before a Papal Legate, the Cardinal Bishop of Sabina, sent by Urban, was on his way to England with plenary powers to depose any Bishops who refused to excommunicate the rebellious Barons, and also to disinherit thirty of the latter. His messenger arrived at Dover with many letters, which were seized by the Warden of Dover Castle and sent to the Earl. The Papal policy was well known to be hostile to the popular movement, for Henry had been too convenient a tool to be flung aside. The safe conduct therefore which the Legate demanded was not given, and being unable to reach either King or Barons, he sent to require the Bishops to appear before him at Boulogne. Their plea that they were not allowed to cross to him met only with angry reproaches, and finally the Bishops of Winchester, London, and Worcester obeyed and went to represent their Order. They were bidden to return immediately and excommunicate Simon de Montfort and all his partisans. A Papal mandate to authorise this was given them, but as they were on their way homeward they were forcibly detained, either by sailors from the Cinque Ports or by the Warden of Dover Castle, who tore in pieces and flung into

the sea the peremptory letter which they carried, and warned them not to act on it on peril of their lives. The Bishops, who had no wish to do so and were suspected of collusion with their captors, reported what had passed to a great meeting of prelates and magnates held at St. Paul's. A lengthy protest was drawn up, with an appeal to the Apostolic See or to a General Council, against any sentence of excommunication or interdict, on the ground that as soon as tranquillity should be restored, there would be fair inquiry as to recent acts of violence and outrages on the rights and possessions of the Church, when justice would be done, and that meantime it would not be safe or politic to take hasty action.

The baffled legate went back to Rome, but succeeded shortly after to the throne which was left vacant by the death of Urban IV, and his feelings towards Simon de Montfort's partisans were not likely to be more cordial after his unsuccessful mission.

Before long came the fatal reverses of Kenilworth and Evesham with the downfall of the patriots' cause, and in the Parliament of Winchester in September, 1265, rigorous measures were taken against the defeated party. The Bishop of Winchester may have been present, as it is expressly noted that all but four bishops were summoned, who had been supporters of the lost cause, and he was not one of the excepted; but the Legate Ottobon arrived with plenary powers in November, dealing his interdicts freely where he passed. One of these was levelled at the Cathedral of Winchester, lasting, it is true, for a few days only; another on the city itself, for which strangely enough the reason given is the entrance into it of the younger de Montfort, from which it had suffered so severely. In December the Legate held a council in London, at which he censured publicly in strong terms the bishops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, and Chichester for siding with rebellious barons. He summoned them to come to him on the Monday before Palm Sunday, when further instruc-

tions were received from Rome, and then suspending them from office, he cited them to appear before Pope Clement IV within three months to hear his pleasure from his own lips. They were charged in the Papal rescript with disrespect to him when he was legate in the delay to come when they were summoned, and neglect to publish the sentences pronounced against the Earl of Leicester and his party, with having broken their oath of fealty to the King, with having held intercourse with the excommunicated, which involved them in like disabilities, and with having taken part notwithstanding in divine service.

The Bishop started for Rome after Easter "with a heavy heart, leaving the legate to profit by the spiritualities of the See which passed into his hands, while the king applied the temporalities to his own uses." For a year he remained at the Papal court suing for pardon, which one at least of his brother prelates, involved in like disgrace, obtained at a heavy price, which he, perhaps, was unable or unwilling to offer. His death in January, 1268, settled the whole question, and a grave at Viterbo was then all that was required.

Nicholas of Ely, 1268—1280.

As Bishop John of Exeter had died while in attendance on the Court of Rome, waiting for a pardon which was never given, it rested with the Pope to nominate his successor, in accordance with established usage, and the See of Winchester was conferred by him on Nicholas of Ely, then Bishop of Worcester, who, says Wykes, "with the greatest alacrity bade farewell to his first spouse, being captivated by the charms of one still more attractive."

He had been raised to the Chancellorship after the Provisions of Oxford (1258), when the King's ministers were replaced with others in whom the barons had more confidence, but he was dismissed again from office in 1261, when Henry, released by Papal dispensation from his pledges, claimed his earlier liberty of choice. In 1262, however, he became Treasurer, being then Archdeacon of Ely, and the next year he was re-appointed Chancellor, while the popular cause gained strength. Though the Great Seal was taken from him more than once, and his powers were expressly limited during the King's absence from England, he cannot have given much offence as the barons' nominee, for the failure of their cause in 1265 did not involve his fall.

When Walter de Cantelupe died in 1266 he was elected in his place at Worcester, and accepted by the King as a "wise and cautious man, conspicuous alike for literary eminence and refined demeanour" (*Wykes*). As such his name stands first among the twelve magnates chosen to arrange the terms of peace at Kenilworth in 1268, when the disinherited barons were allowed to redeem their lands.

Translated to Winchester by favour of Pope Clement, he was enthroned there on Whit Sunday, 1268, entertaining afterwards at a great banquet many nobles who had come there to do him honour. A month later he was present at Northampton at the stirring scene when Prince Edward and many great men pledged themselves to start for a Crusade, as also when Edward, departing from the shores of England in

1270, consigned his children to the care of Richard of Cornwall, shortly before his visit to the Chapter House at Winchester, when he begged the monks to pray for him while he was away.

At St. Swithun's the sinister influence of Bishop Ethelmar, and the monks whom he thrust in, had left disorders and a factious spirit which were not laid easily to rest. Debts had been incurred by mismanagement and intrigues at Rome, and when the Legate Ottobon made his visitation in 1267 he ascertained that more than 10,000 marks were owing to moneylenders. Prior Valentine had resigned, and commissioners were appointed for a time to rule the Priory and restore its shattered credit. One of the first acts of the new Bishop was to replace Valentine in his office at the instance of the Legate, but it was a turbulent household to control, and in 1274 the ex-Prior Andrew returned from Rome, and relying on support from his partisans within the convent and from the citizens outside, made an attempt to force his way into the Priory. The Bishop was on his guard however, and had posted his servants to bar the gates and prevent access to the Cathedral and the neighbouring buildings. Finding his men hard-pressed he sent out Preaching friars to ask for a day's truce, and gathered meantime retainers from all sides in sufficient numbers to repel any attack. After the assailants had withdrawn he excommunicated them and their abettors, and laid the town under an interdict for a whole week. So serious was the party spirit roused among the citizens that by order of the King's Council an inquiry was set on foot by the justices itinerant; many disturbers of the peace were lodged in ward, and among them even an Archdeacon of Rochester, while others took to flight. To help probably to calm the troubled spirits and to strengthen the Bishop's hands, Archbishop Kilwardby came in November of the same year to Winchester where he was received with all due honour by the clergy and people, and soon afterwards held a visitation in the Priory, taking the other monasteries in succession.

Notwithstanding the efforts of high dignitaries the discords at St. Swithun's waxed rather than waned; nearly all the brethren, it is said, were on the side of the arch-intriguer, Andrew, and in 1276, the prior, in despair of his relations with the mutineers, resigned his post. The Bishop promptly took possession of the manors of the convent, removed the obedienciaries, and appointed a new sub-prior. The king, who had just before restored quiet in the town by a peremptory order that they must keep the peace or forfeit civic privileges, now sent commissioners, by whose advice the Bishop reinstated Valentine as prior, deposing him soon afterwards however, and putting a Norman, John de Dureville, in his room.

The change brought no improvement, and now in their turn two friendly abbots of the Order, from Reading and Glastonbury, interposed with soothing words to stay the strife. At this entreaty "the Bishop laid aside all rancorous feeling towards the brotherhood, and gave them all the kiss of peace, save to those who were then moving the powers in Rome against him" (*Ann. Wav.*) But the pleading of the abbots must have failed, as the royal commission had before, for next year, with the consent of all concerned, the king took the priory into his own hands, appointing a guardian to rule it. The provisional arrangement lasted only for a year, after which the Bishop resumed the entire control, and nominated whom he pleased to office.

It is not an edifying picture of the cloistered life, but the monks of St. Swithun's were not more quarrelsome than others; like scenes were frequently recurring, and the bishops who tried to do their duty and keep order in the convents had work enough upon their hands either as visitors or abbots.

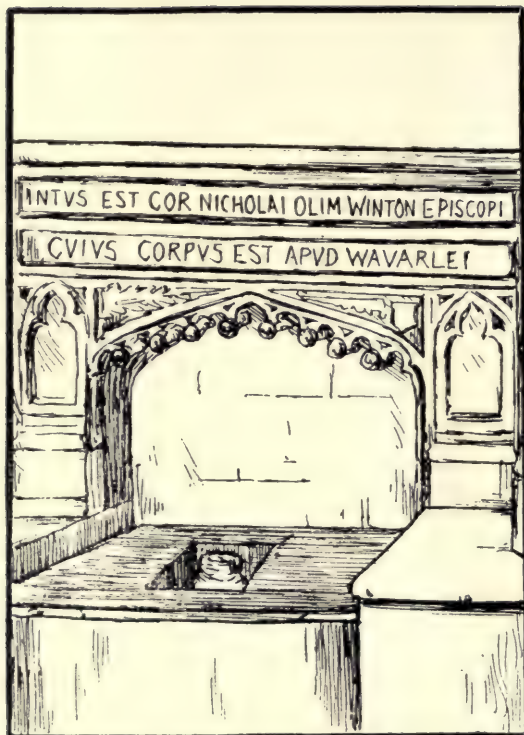
Of what Bishop Nicholas did outside St. Swithun's the chroniclers say little. We know that he took part in various solemn functions, in putting the *pallium* on Archbishop Kilwardby in 1273 and consecrating other prelates. As a high dignitary of the

State he joined with other magnates in writing to Edward to announce his accession to the throne and went to Paris to meet him on his way home in 1273. When in 1276 the King paid his first visit to Winchester after his return, he came down the next day with Queen Eleanor from the Castle to St. Swithun's and was conducted by the Bishop and the monks in stately procession in the Cathedral, where they remained awhile for prayer.

He was magnificent in entertainments, for several banquets which he gave are specially described, and it is noted that when he dined in state at Waverley with his chief clergy in 1274 he did so at his own expense, and at the dedication of the church of the same convent in 1278 he provided "copiously and splendidly" for nine days for all the visitors; on the first day alone 7066 of both sexes were counted at the dinner table. It was a light thing after this to send vension from Farnham for the enthronement banquet of Archbishop Peckham, who had found a visit to the Court of Rome a very costly pleasure, and had to send all round to his brother prelates to beg them to provide him with good cheer.

The Bishop died in 1280, leaving pleasant memories behind him, we are told, at least at Waverley, where he was buried in the Church which he had consecrated a short time before, but his heart was taken to Winchester, to be laid in the Cathedral. The small leaden case which contained it was placed by Bishop Fox in the wall of the third bay on the South side of the Choir Screen, when he re-arranged the remains of the distinguished men who had been buried in the Church, and there it was seen in 1887.

He bequeathed to the convent a legacy of one hundred marks, and his executors also handed over to the monks an annotated Bible which had belonged to him. This had been lately lent to Archbishop Peckham, and was borrowed afterwards by Bishop John de Pontoise, to be kept for his use "as long as it might please him."



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The Enshrined Heart of Bishop Nicholas of Ely.

In memory of earlier relations the Bishop left thirty marks and a Bible to the Priory of Worcester, and his executors were required to contribute to the expense of building a church for the Franciscan friars at Southampton, towards which, shortly before his death, he had promised to give help.

The above illustration has been worked from a sketch which was made when the vase containing the heart of Bishop Nicholas was uncovered during alterations, June 23rd, 1887, and seen as Bishop Fox had

placed it. Over the cavity, which is in a single block of stone and about nine inches deep, was a plate of lead bearing the inscription: "Hic humatum est cor Nicholai Hely qui obiit anno MCCLXXIX. Pridie Idus Februari," the lettering being much older than that on the screen. The vase was not touched, but was apparently of lead, wrapped round with a silk or damask napkin, fringed and sewn round the upper part, and of a very dark brown colour. The inspection was made in the presence of the Dean and several of the Cathedral clergy, and the covering plate and slab were reverently replaced.—ED.

John de Pontoise, 1282—1304.

Soon after the death of Nicholas of Ely the monks assembled in the Chapter House together with the two archdeacons, who by established usage took part in the election, and chose the Chancellor, Robert Burnell, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, who had been pressed upon them by King Edward. It was a name, however, much in ill-odour at the Court of Rome, and the envoys sent to "postulate" for him found their eloquence quite unavailing in the presence of Pope Nicholas III. They were roughly told that the convent had been rash and disrespectful in asking for a bishop of whom the Holy See had already shown its disapproval, but by special grace the Chapter might make a second choice. It did so in November, 1280, when a committee of seven electors agreed upon the name of Richard de la More, Archdeacon of Winchester, "pre-eminent in learning" (*Oseney Ann.*), who was seated there among them. Archbishop Peckham, a purist in church discipline, withheld his consent on the ground that the Archdeacon held two benefices with cure of souls, contrary to the enactment of the Council of Lyons (1271). Weary of delay the bishop-elect appealed to Rome in person. The cause at length was duly heard before a new Pope, Martin IV, but as irregularities had been committed de la More was induced to give up his appeal, perhaps in the hope that the Pope would himself appoint him. When asked privately what sum he was prepared to give for such a grace, "like a man of strict conscience, fearing the stain of simony, he answered 'not a penny.'" The scandalized go-betweens told the cardinals what he had said, and on the morrow Pope and cardinals held a hasty meeting, ignored the wishes of the convent, and appointed John de Pontoise who was at the time detained by business at Rome, and had him consecrated at Civita Vecchia by the Bishops of Ostia and Velitrae, in June, 1282. No one indeed but Peckham cared much about the abuses of pluralities, for de la More procured a dispensation shortly afterwards, and John de Pontoise had himself in 1276 by Papal

grace held together several benefices with cure of souls, besides a canonry and archdeaconry at Exeter, as also the rectory of Tawstock. He was also a Papal chaplain, professor of civil law at Modena, and had been Chancellor of Oxford in 1280, and the Pope, in a letter to King Edward, described him as "a man of eminent learning whose character and conduct were in high esteem at the Apostolic See." He seems to have been an Englishman by birth, though his family came from Pontoise, and his name is variously given as Pountes, Pontissara, and Fanteise, and even absurdly as Sawbridge, though the practice of translating names from the vernacular into Latin belongs to a later date.

Edward, though displeased at the result, was induced by letters from Pope and cardinals to restore the temporalities to the new Bishop on condition that he bought the corn and stock on the manors at their full price. Resentful feeling lingered on however, and action taken by the Bishop with regard to the church of Croadall in disregard of the King's nominee caused an outburst of wrath the next year, which was serious enough to call for the intercession of Peckham, who wrote to both King and Queen deprecating the harsh measures taken against "a good man, wise and loyal," and reminding them that enmity to the Bishop would be regarded by the Court of Rome as directed against itself. Peckham took much interest in his behalf, as he had often written to him as his proctor in Rome in 1279, and again in 1282.

With little favour at Court, and no secular duties to distract his thoughts, the Bishop could give his time mainly to the interests of his See, and to friendly relations with St. Swithun's, where there had been so much trouble in the past. There were still elements of disorder to be found there. During the vacancy of the See the Prior had refused to recognise the authority of the Archbishop, and had yielded only after sentence of excommunication. Peckham formally visited it early in 1284, and wrote to the Bishop to tell him of the measures he had taken against Valentine, who had

been expelled by Nicholas of Ely, and Andrew who for "notable misdemeanours" had been degraded from his office of prior, both of whom were contumacious offenders still. The Bishop, however, was minded to do more than maintain discipline by formal censures. He was anxious to settle matters in dispute which had caused much heart burning in the past respecting conflicting claims to the estates and the status of the conventual officials. It was decided amicably after conference before the King, that the obedientiaries should be freely elected by the monks, and that the prior, once appointed by the Bishop, should not be subject to removal by him; on a prior's death the chapter should hold possession of the estates during the vacancy; and all the lands and advowsons which it claimed as of old right should be secured to it except the manors of Gosport, Alverstoke, and Droxford, which the convent now consented to hand over wholly to the Bishop. The agreement was signed and sealed at Winchester in July, 1284.

During this period both Pope and King laid heavy hands on ecclesiastical possessions for the defence of the Holy Land and objects nearer home, and the Bishop was involved in some unpopularity on that account, for he was commissioned by Pope Nicholas IV, together with the Bishop of Lincoln, to draw up a new system of assessment of church property in accordance with detailed instructions sent to them. Financial agents travelled through the country to take the evidence of the clergy, but notwithstanding that it was given on oath, they were taxed often on amounts two or three times as large as their own valuation. There were naturally loud complaints of the "most oppressive *taxatio Nicholai*," in which the fiscal agents were not spared. The Bishop had been charged himself with £2000 for the expenses of the crown a few years before, and in 1294 an entry in the Patent Rolls shews that he paid one half of his income for the year, rated, of course, upon the new assessment.

After this time he was frequently away from England, and there are repeated

notices in the rolls of the formal leave of absence which was granted to him, and of attorneys appointed to look after his interests at home. Before he went, however, he interposed as arbitrator (*amicabilis ordinator*) in a dispute which had dragged on fifteen years between the convent of Waverley and the Archdeacon of Surrey on the subject of some small tithes, and had been referred on appeal to a variety of commissions appointed by the Pope. Thankful tribute to his good offices is recorded in the annals of the house.

The Pope had need of him at Rome in 1295, and sent a letter in July to request that the King would let him come in the interests of the Church. There are many notices in other Papal letters which illustrate the value set upon his services at Rome. Requests were made repeatedly in his behalf that Philip of France would restore property belonging to the Bishop which he had seized, taking some of it even from the religious houses in which it had been stored for safety. His diocese was exempted in 1298 from the jurisdiction of the metropolitan, and placed immediately under the Apostolic See, provision was made for his secular clerks in London and elsewhere, and a large sum awarded him for his labour and expenses in collecting the Holy Land Tenth, which had been granted for six years to the King.

At the end of 1295, Edward, whose confidence he must have gained meantime, sent him to arrange the terms of truce with France. The negotiations were protracted, for he seems to have been abroad on the King's service, till the beginning of 1298. He was probably not sorry to be far away during the critical time of 1297, when Archbishop Winchelsey braved the displeasure of the King in obedience to the famous Bull of Boniface VIII, which forbade any grants in aid to the Crown from the property of the Church.

Early in 1300 Edward wrote to the Pope to the effect that he was sending the Bishop of Winchester to France as his "proctor and special envoy, to hear and

confirm the Papal arrangements for peace between England and France," and protection was granted him for two years' absence. Again in March, 1303, he "went beyond the seas on the King's service," and took with him the Archdeacons of Winchester and Surrey, and the Warden of St. Cross, powers being given to them and others to make a treaty with Philip of France, and a license for two years' absence was conferred.

We next hear of him in a letter written by King Edward, 1st May, 1304, in which he begs the Pope to further the interests of his "beloved and loyal" Bishop who is visiting Rome on business connected with his See. He speaks in the highest terms of the profound wisdom and prudence which had long been devoted to secure the peace and welfare of the realm. What the business was and how he fared in it we are not told, and he died at Wolvesey in the following December.

A few years before his death he had founded St. Elizabeth's College, in honour of the Hungarian Saint, in a meadow opposite the gate of Wolvesey, for a provost with six chaplains and six clerks, who, besides their meat and drink of a very meagre diet, were to receive salaries varying from six marks to twenty shillings yearly. It was not intended, as has been said, "to promote the interests of learning among his clergy," but to provide a fixed and ample round of prayers for the living and the dead. Another chapel called St. Stephen's in the same mead seems to have been also founded by him.

In his earlier years of office, when his relations with the court were strained, the Bishop's rights were somewhat roughly questioned by the agents of the Crown. He had to defend a suit respecting his claim to the advowson of God's House, or the Hospital of St. Julian in Southampton, which he finally surrendered to the Crown, though it had been adjudged to him when

disputed by the Corporation of Southampton, and the Sheriff William of Bremsleschete (Bramshott) had enforced the sentence. He was accused on frivolous grounds of breach of the Forest Laws, and the Warder of Porchester Castle hunted in his parks while he was away from England. It was more serious when the privileges of St. Giles' fair were declared to have been forfeited because it had been kept open longer than the term allowed by Charter. By special grace however the King renewed the grant.

He shewed favour to religious houses in a much more questionable form than the endowments of preceding bishops when he helped them to secure for their own uses the rectorial titles of parishes of which they had advowsons. Thus he procured the assent of Pope and King to the impropriation of Wotton to St. Swithun's, of Micheldever to Hyde Abbey, and Great Worldham to Selborne Priory. In all the cases the same reason is assigned of provision for the poor and hospitality to the wayfarers, though it is hard to credit the "multitude of poor and infirm who flocked" to Selborne. For St. Swithun's more is said of the expense of litigation and mismanagement from frequent changes of the priors, and the maintenance and enlargement of the Cathedral fabric, for which the bishops gave a special grant from the proceeds of the fair. The convent in its gratitude bound itself to have a Mass of the Holy Spirit sung daily for the Bishop while he lived, and a Mass for the dead after his decease, as also a solemn Mass with the trumpet on his obit-day. To his own foundation of St. Elizabeth's College he transferred the tithes of Hursley, subject only to provision for a vicar.

His tomb was made on the north side of the choir, with the brief inscription on the monumental tablet :—

Defuncti corpus tumulus tenet iste Joannis
Pountes Wintoniæ Præsulis eximii.

Henry Woodlock, 1305—1316.

In Henry Woodlock we have the single case of a prior of St. Swithun's raised to the bishop's throne. Kings commonly dictated, or Popes provided, with scant regard for the wishes of the nominal electors, who seldom ventured to raise their voices in behalf of the man whom they knew best, nor are we told how it was that they could act freely in this case.

Nothing is known of Woodlock's earlier life save that he was Prior from 1295 to 1305, and that he was called also de Mereville from an episcopal manor from which he came. Here Henry of Blois had founded a college for four priests, which had been enlarged by Peter des Roches, and here Woodlock himself resided occasionally in later life.

After the death of John de Pontoise the vacancy was soon filled up, and the temporalities were restored on March 12th, 1305; but before long the Bishop incurred the grave displeasure of the King by interceding for Winchelsey, the disgraced Primate, and calling him his lord, while under the ban of Papacy and Crown. It is said that he was outlawed in consequence, and his effects seized, but Edward's death soon afterwards brought a speedy change. Winchelsey was restored to place and favour, but being unable to return at once to England he delegated to the Bishop of Winchester the chief part in the Coronation of Edward II, which took place before the high altar of St. Peter's, Westminster.

It illustrates the proud spirit of independence in the greater monasteries at this time that the Bishop found it needful to give assurance by letters under his seal to the Abbot and monks of Westminster that the ceremony in their church should not be regarded as any token of authority on his part, or as affecting in any way their rights and privileges.

This was not followed by any prominent action of the Bishop in the affairs of State, if we except the exercise of the powers entrusted in 1310 to certain peers, lay and

clerical, to elect Ordainers. We find ample mention of episcopal statesmen in contemporary records, and we can trace in official documents the appointments of the financiers and judges who were promoted by the Crown to high places in the Church, but from such sources we learn hardly anything of Woodlock, beyond a bare notice of the leave of absence granted for a year in 1311 that he might attend a general Council at Vienne, and an entry of the daily pension of fourpence for each of the four Templars assigned to him for custody when the Order was suppressed by Clement at the Council. These sufferers from the unholy compact between a French tyrant and an unscrupulous Pope were distributed among religious houses, with adequate allowance for their maintenance, for the Bishop's prisoners at Wolvesey cost him only a farthing a day.

Disinclined or unfitted by the habits of his cloistered life to take an active part in the politics of a troubled age, he had more time to give to the administration of his diocese, and to matters which went beyond the legal formalities of his official principal, or the powers delegated to Bishops *in partibus*, on whom his predecessors often had relied during long periods of absence from their Sees. His Constitutions, a sort of lengthy pastoral containing detailed instructions to the clergy—such as his predecessors found little leisure to formulate—indicate a liberal and judicious spirit. At a time when monks were often jealous of the rival pretensions of the friars, and parish priests bitterly resented the intrusion of their preachers, he is urgent in advising that the travelling friars should be made welcome and hospitably treated, and allowed to shrive the penitent, but insists that the sanction of incumbents shall be first obtained.

The religious houses at this period were claiming tithes and pensions in a multitude of parishes, but the Bishop, monk though he was, would have inquiry made in every case, and the title proved, and meanwhile would strictly guard the interests involved.

St. Swithun's had dealt roughly with the Vicar of Wootton, the great tithes of which had been inappropriated for their use, and the Bishop writes to the brethren of whom he had been Prior to recall them to a sense of duty; "again and again has Richard, Vicar of Wootton, complained that your bailiffs dwelling there unjustly detain and refuse to hand over to him the portion of tithes assigned to him by reason of his vicarage out of your demesnes, and that as often as he demands it they scoff at him to the great prejudice of the said Vicar and his vicarage. Wherefore we enjoin you to be so good as to command your aforesaid bailiffs to pay and give up without delay to the said Vicar the portion of tithes and all other things due to him as Vicar from your demesnes aforesaid: acting in the matter so that the Vicar may have no occasion to return to us again for the aforesaid reason, and that we may be under no necessity of giving him a helping hand by reason of your shortcoming."

He dwells at length on the oppressive dealings of archdeacons, rural deans, and their officials, and peremptorily forbids the exaction often made, familiarly known under the name of the "Archdeacon's pig," a charge of twelve pence yearly from each church in the Archdeaconry.

Familiar doubtless with the traditions of disorder and misrule in his own convent fifty years before, he knew how often vigilant care and a firm hand were needed to restore peace among the inmates of the cloister. Earlier bishops, much occupied by affairs of state at a distance from their Sees, could rarely deal patiently with conventual troubles, but the visitation decrees addressed by Woodlock to the religious houses of his diocese shew that his oversight was real and watchful. The bishops still had large powers of control. The greater houses indeed had drawn themselves away and enjoyed an independence secured by papal grant, but in the less important monasteries episcopal authority was complete. The evil was that it was exercised too fitfully and weakly, till the constitutional ailments became inveterate

and fatal. Difficulties began often in a shrinking income, for gifts of large endowments were wholly of the past, and it was often hard to keep their creditors at bay, and to repair their ruinous homes. Thus Hyde Abbey, once the close neighbour and rival of St. Swithun's, was in such a sorry plight with some of its buildings still in ruins and the estates insufficient for their restoration that the Bishop issued in 1311 a letter to recommend its claims to charitable help, and directed that collections should be made in its behalf in all the churches of the diocese.

Often the ruler was incompetent or selfish, the brethren disorderly and factious, and then a change of Head was needful, and drastic measures were decreed. The nunnery of Wintney, for example, had suffered from the misrule of its Abbess, and was visited by the Bishop in 1308, and again in 1315, after which injunctions and decrees were sent by him. The Archbishop shortly afterwards complained that the nuns, left without the necessities of life, had been forced to leave their cloister, and find shelter where they could. A commission was issued immediately with full powers to deal with the abuses.

At Hyde Abbey, not much later, the monks were disorderly and dissolute, and the Abbot was sharply censured because his spiritual children made themselves vile, and he, like Eli of old, restrained them not.

It is unnecessary to give further illustrations. With change of names and local colour the descriptions of conventual disorders are much the same in different parts of England; they illustrate too clearly the waning enthusiasm of monastic life, and the degradation of a high ideal.

The Bishop does not appear to have discouraged pluralities, at any rate in his own family, for in 1312 a Papal dispensation was procured, at the King's request, for "Richard de Wodelok, nephew of Henry of Winchester to accept one or more benefices to the value of £100," he being already rector of three parishes, with preferment at Itchen Abbas.

He died at Farnham Castle on the 18th of June, 1316, but his body was taken to Winchester, and buried at the entrance of the Choir. Besides the thirty marks a year granted by him, as by earlier bishops, from

the tolls of St. Giles' Fair, for the repairs of the Cathedral, he had bestowed various ornaments upon it, and also enriched the church of Merewelle where his early years were spent.

John de Sandale.

As soon as the two monks of St. Swithun's, who in accordance with the usual custom were sent to announce the death of Bishop Henry of Winchester, had arrived at Windsor, and obtained the requisite license to elect a successor, the King wrote to the Chapter, desiring that his Chancellor might be promoted to the vacant post. Letters to the same effect were written by the Queen and several of the nobles. Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, the King's cousin, was also urged repeatedly to go without delay to Winchester, and use such influence as he could to further the same end. Accordingly on the 27th of July, 1316, after Mass in the Cathedral, the Chapter formally elected John de Sandale, who had filled for many years a prominent place in the service of the crown.

Born probably near Doncaster, in one of the manors of Wheatley, of which Sandale was a member, he is first heard of as a clerk in the King's Wardrobe in 1294, then as Keeper of the Royal Mints, and in 1305 as Chamberlain of Scotland, being employed meanwhile in a variety of financial charges in Gascony and elsewhere. After the accession of Edward II he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was Treasurer in 1310. The latter office he resigned when he received the Great Seal as Chancellor in 1314.

In return for the arduous work involved in these secular offices of high importance, many ecclesiastical appointments were conferred upon him, their emoluments being regarded as part of his official pay. By traditional usage the servants of the crown could claim to dispense with residence and delegate their spiritual duties, and neither John de Sandale nor his master had any scruples in this respect. But pluralities on such a scale required special treatment, and as the conditions are described for us in unusual detail, it is of interest to note the various stages.

As early as 1305 application was made to Pope Clement V to allow him to retain a number of benefices which he held without proceeding to higher orders than the subdiaconate, notwithstanding adverse decrees

of the Council of Lyons. The reply was favourable, and the indulgence granted. But the license only covered the irregularities of the past, and when more benefices were conferred or promised it was needful to take further steps from time to time. A letter was written in the King's name, describing the exceeding merits of John de Sandale, and the charms of his personal character, and begging the Pope to give a favourable hearing to the pleas that would be urged by the special messenger despatched. Cardinals at Rome—in one case as many as fourteen—received also royal letters on the subject, and the agent probably had something weightier than verbal arguments to offer to them. In due course the answer from the Papal court arrived. With stately condescension the Pope "benignly favours those who, walking in the paths of virtue, devote themselves to the service of exalted personages." The irregularities were lengthily recounted and condoned, and sanction given to more benefices still to be conferred, amounting in value to a sum definitely fixed. Three times this process was repeated, the letters growing longer as the aggregate amount was larger; in the last rescript in 1313 the pluralist was no longer a subdeacon but a priest, but in no case was residence to be required, or any duties save by deputy enforced. In 1315 therefore he held, besides the chancellorship of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and the treasurership of Lichfield, eight prebendal stalls and ten rectories, the total income of which amounted to much more than ten thousand pounds of present value.

On September 22nd, 1316, the election was confirmed, the temporalities were restored, and he began at once to exercise his official powers. The "recognition money," of fixed amount, payable by the tenants of the manors at the accession of each bishop, was duly collected by the bailiffs. On October 31st the ceremonies of consecration were performed at Canterbury by Archbishop Reynolds, and immediately afterwards the Bishop held two Ordinations, at Sturry and at Milton, by permission of the Archbishop, but to the first tonsure only. On the fourth Sunday

in Lent he was enthroned at Winchester, the King coming from Clarendon to be present in the Cathedral and in the Great Hall of Wolvesey, where a feast was given, for which elaborate preparations had been made, mandates being sent to the officials of the crown at the Cinque Ports and elsewhere to assist in providing fish for the occasion, as instructions had been given before to have venison sent to the Bishop from the royal forests. The accounts were so minutely kept that we can read about what was paid to carpenters and plumbers for petty repairs needed for the Hall, and for iron hoops required to strengthen the casks of wine and beer.

The services of so able and experienced a minister could not easily be dispensed with, and the Bishop retained the office of Chancellor for a year and seven months after his consecration, though on several occasions he found it necessary to deliver the Great Seal to the custody of various officials, as when he went on pilgrimage to Canterbury, or left the court at York or Lincoln in order to discharge episcopal duties in the south. Even when he was allowed to resign the Chancellorship, it was only to be made Treasurer once more, and to struggle with the financial embarrassments in which the Crown was now involved from the expenses of the war with Scotland, and the extravagances of the royal household.

Notwithstanding the pressure of his secular duties he did not seek the help of other bishops, like so many of the Ministers of State, but conducted himself the ceremonies of his Ordinations and visited repeatedly many of his manors and the neighbouring churches. In one of these visits to a vicar of Micheldever, his kinsman, the house of the vicarage was burnt down during the Bishop's stay in it.

The royal letters to the Pope in his behalf did not cease entirely, though after his promotion to Winchester dispensations of the same kind were not needed. Early in 1317, in support of some request made at Rome, the King wrote to "petition his Blessedness to vouchsafe to the Bishop—a man of the highest character, of great

reputation, distinguished for honesty of life and conversation, zealous in the cause of justice, and endowed with manifold virtues, and ever labouring strenuously to maintain the liberties of the Church—so abundant a measure of grace and favour for the work he has in hand, that he may be able the more profitably to exercise in the fear of the Lord, the office committed to his trust, and render opportune assistance and counsel in State affairs." The only indulgence however of which we have any record at this time is the license given on March 17th, 1317, "conceding with loving favour the means of enjoying, according to desire expressed, a peaceful conscience, and a mind free from commotion." He had leave to choose for confessor a discreet priest, to hear his confession, and enjoin a salutary penance of his offences, even if such as under ordinary circumstances would require the intervention of the Apostolic See.

Another occasion of royal intercession involved wider interests, and deserves more explanation. In 1318 Pope John XXII suddenly revoked all the dispensations of plurality which had been granted by Clement V, and demanded in each case the immediate resignation of all the benefices but one so held with cure of souls. Returns of the churches thus surrendered were to be made out in every Diocese for the Pope's use. In that of Winchester thirteen were accordingly vacated. An interesting letter was addressed to the Pope on May 30th by nearly all the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, describing in strong terms the forlorn condition of the many parishes so left without a pastor, as also of the others to which in earlier days aliens had been preferred, ignorant of the language even of their people, careless of the duties of hospitality, and neglectful of the ruinous condition of the rectorial buildings. They beg therefore to be allowed themselves to present to the benefices which were left without incumbents, or to draw up lists in separate schedules of approved clerks whom the Pope might himself appoint to the vacant churches. This was followed a few days later by a special letter of Edward on the same subject in

behalf of his Chancellor, whose wide experience alike in his secular and spiritual offices made the patronage at his disposal insufficient to reward the services of deserv- ing men.

A month after his acceptance of the office of Treasurer in 1318, he retired to Southwark, and remained there mainly till his death on November 2nd, 1319, though with occasional visits to Farnham and Wolvesey, and other places in his Diocese. He appears to have been in failing health for some time past, and obliged to excuse his absence from Convocation, and to seek repose.

The funeral took place on Sunday, the 11th, when the Mass of Requiem was sung in the Church of St. Mary, Southwark, followed by a great dole of alms to the poor, and the customary dinner to the mourners present at the ceremony. That the number of the guests was a very large one may be gathered from the entries of the kitchen expenses of the day, of 14 carcases of beef, 78 sheep, 24 pigs and 22 calves, 8 swans, 140 geese, 240 fowls, and 1300 eggs, besides fish of various kinds. There were also 320 gallons of wine and 1143 gallons of beer consumed.

Of his character and powers we have no other evidence than the many offices of state to which he was preferred and the affectionate language of the King's letters in his behalf. The former amply prove the value set upon his services; the latter also speak of "the modesty and gentleness, which won the love of both his superiors and inferiors, and earned for his praiseworthy administration the love of one and all." Though the Court was unwilling to forego its claims upon his services, he seems to have devoted all the attention that was possible to the cares of his Diocese, and to have returned to it as often as he could, to have travelled to and fro among his manors, the dilapidations of which were valued at his death at a much lower figure than for several of his successors in the See. They were evil days in which he

lived, in which reputations were not spared, but in his case calumny was silent.

He left nothing to be disposed of in charity at his death beyond the funeral dole, but benefactions during his lifetime to the Friars Preachers and Franciscans are recorded, as also some help in time of need to the convent of Ivinghoe.

His tenure of the bishopric was too short to enable him to meet the heavy expenses and claims of the crown during the first year, and the day after the King heard of the death of the servant whom he had praised so highly, writs were issued for the seizure of his effects to recover debts incurred and taxes still unpaid. Inquiries were made even as to the gold and silver plate that had belonged to him, which members of his family were said to have carried off after his death. More than twenty years later the household furniture of his executor was seized in part payment of a heavy debt still due from the Bishop's estate.

Little is told us of his relations with the brethren of St. Swithun's. These during the vacancy had used defiant language about the Archbishop's Commissaries, whose formal visit they were unwilling to allow. Reynolds did not, like Peckham in like case, deal in excommunications, but wrote an angry warning to the convent, accusing it of encouraging "conspiracies and conventicles" elsewhere. One of the first acts of the Bishop had been to procure for the convent license to hold in mortmain more lands and rents to the value of £50 and advowsons to the value of £100, and he also confirmed the grant of 30 marks for the Cathedral fabric. He proposed at a later time to come to them as Visitor, but the stress of public duties allowed him no leisure for the purpose.

For the City of Winchester he procured leave to levy a murage tax for seven years, which enabled it to expend on the fortifications of the town the produce of tolls exacted on the wares and provisions brought into their markets.

Rigaud de Assier, 1320—1323.

Earlier Bishops had commonly owed their preferment to the Crown, which they had long served in secular employments, but after Sandale's death the See was the reward of a financial agent of the Papal Court. As soon as the news of the vacancy reached King Edward II, he wrote to Pope John XXII, who was known to have reserved to himself the next appointment, begging the post for young Henry de Burghershe, nephew of the steward of his household, who, thanks to royal favour, gained the next year the bishoprick of Lincoln. Meantime however Edward had granted the *congé d'élire*, and had assented to the election of Adam de Wynton, a monk of the Priory, who started immediately for Avignon to sue for the Pope's sanction. The nominees of both King and Chapter were summarily set aside, the latter remaining on at the Papal Court two years in the hope of receiving some promotion, and in sorry plight because of the scanty remittances which the Convent could afford to send him.

On November 26, 1319, a Bull of Provision was issued in favour of Rigaud de Assier, whose "knowledge of letters, refinement of manners, and unswerving fidelity" were stated to be well known by experience. Assier, from which Rigaud took his surname, was a village not far from Cahors in Aquitaine; he was a native therefore of the same district as the Pope, by whom he had been sent to England in 1317 as a Nuncio, to set in order the collection of Peter's pence, and other dues which had not been regularly paid, with letters of request to the English prelates to assist him, and provide for him a stipend of seven shillings a day. Canonries in London and Salisbury were assigned him, and he was rewarded also for his services with the office of Papal Chaplain, and with the dignity of *Scholasticus* or Chancellor of the Church of Orleans. No little tact and discretion was required to exercise without offence the duties of his financial office. Most of the foreign collectors whom we read of left an ill-name

behind them when they departed from our shores, and a letter in the Close Rolls of 6 February, 1318, speaks of "clamorous and tumultuous complaints of proceedings tending to the impoverishment of many persons, both clerical and lay, and to the prejudice of the crown." Formal prohibitions were therefore issued against such unwarrantable practices on his part. The hardships implied however have left no further traces in the history of the times, and unpalatable to Englishmen as his work might be, the Pope at least was well content.

He was formally excused from the trouble and expense of an immediate visit to the Apostolic See, and allowed to seek orders and consecration from any bishop of his choice. The temporalities were restored on April 17, and he began to exercise the powers of his office, but he was not ordained Priest till some months later, and on November 17, 1320, he was consecrated at St. Alban's Abbey by the Bishop of London, with the help of other Bishops.

The Pope had evidently hoped that Rigaud would exert some restraining influence on the misguided policy of King Edward, to whom he had written in July, urging him to be cautious and to give attentive hearing to the advice of the Bishop-elect.

During the short vacancy of the See the royal agents seem to have exercised their temporary powers on the episcopal estates with little scruple. Fifteen hundred large trees had been cut down in his woods, and fines at St. Giles' Fair had been taken by the King's Clerk of the Markets, though by old usage they were due only to the Bishop. Formal petitions were issued in his name, and enquiries made in Parliament upon the subject. During the next year there are few traces of personal activity on the Bishop's part in the administration of his diocese, beyond the exercise of his rights to nominate nuns in various convents, and the appointment of penitentiaries and the formal institutions of incumbents. The ordinations were held by

a Dalmatian bishop, Peter of Corbavia, who had assisted at his consecration, and Walter de Stapeldon, Bishop of Exeter, was licensed also to hold ordinations within the Diocese of Winchester.

From February to May, 1321, he was detained on the borders of Scotland as one of the Commissioners deputed to treat for peace with Robert de Brus, and Edward, in a letter to the Pope, writes in grateful terms of the painstaking and loyal efforts of the Bishop in his behalf. On the failure of the negotiations he returned to Southwark, proceeding afterwards to Winchester, where he was enthroned on Whit-Sunday, June the 7th. On the following Tuesday he visited a few other manors, and then returned to Southwark.

The clergy of his diocese had known him mainly hitherto as the collector of the Papal dues, in which relation they had no special cause to love him, still less when leave was granted him to exact a subsidy of moderate amount from all the clergy, regular and secular alike, of his diocese, to meet the losses and expenses in his service to the Papal Camera, the debts incurred by him being recognised as very heavy. They would sympathise more warmly with him when he publicly deplored the turbulence and civil discords that were rife in England. In a letter from Farnham to the Prior of St. Swithun's he ordered him to assemble his brethren with the monks of Hyde and the nuns of St. Mary's and with the parochial clergy to make a solemn procession through the city, with prayers for the peace and well-being of the realm.

Soon afterwards the Bishop and others were deputed to go to the Papal Court at Avignon to transact certain business affecting Edward and the state of his kingdom, as also the affairs of Scotland, and in January, 1322, he obtained letters of protection for James Sinibaldi, the Archdeacon of Winchester, and others of his suite, as also commendatory letters to Philip of France and to the Pope, and on the 18th he crossed from Dover. He seems to have remained in attendance on the Papal Court until

Tuesday, the 12th of April, 1323, when, after an absence from home of fifteen months, he died at Avignon, and was buried there.

At Winchester he was little known, for he appears to have been at Wolvesey only for his consecration and during the following November, and he was not much more at Farnham. Taken away at a very early age—before his maturity, says the chronicler of St. Alban's—he could leave no mark upon the diocese where the administrative work was mostly delegated to others. Collectively, indeed, the clergy heard from him mainly when some demand was made upon their purses, as in the case of the "moderate subsidy" sanctioned by the Pope, or of the contribution of one farthing in the pound, as determined by the bishops generally, for the maintenance of a Professor of Hebrew and Greek at Oxford, or in the mandate admonishing the clergy to pay their quota towards the salary of their proctor at the Parliament.

In the University of Oxford he showed no interest, for it is once only named in the twenty-six dispensations for residences granted to incumbents to enable them to pursue a course of liberal studies.

Though many were admitted by the Bishop to the first tonsure, only one general ordination was held by him, that at Bishop's Waltham in 1321; the rest were conducted by Peter of Corbavia, as were other episcopal ceremonies. His brother Gerald, Prior of Peyrusse, had been summoned to his help at his appointment, and ruled the diocese as Vicar-General during Rigaud's absence, accepting himself, however, no preferment, though Bertram de Assier, who became Rector of Freshwater and Master of St. Cross, was probably his nephew. Gerald acted as the Bishop's executor, and in his accounts a sum of £3270 was returned by him as due to the Crown for the corn and stock on the manors sold to the Bishop, and for fines and taxes still unpaid. Like his predecessor, he had not had time to recover from the heavy debts incurred at his promotion.

John de Stratford, 1323—1333.

When Rigaud de Assier died at Avignon in attendance on the Papal Court in April, 1323, it rested with Pope John XXII, according to established usage, to nominate his successor. The choice fell on John de Stratford, a lawyer of high repute, who had served his University of Oxford in its suit with the Dominicans, and had been employed in affairs of Church and State as Dean of the Court of Arches and special envoy of the Crown. In recognition of his merits he had been rewarded with a variety of ecclesiastical preferments, passing from the benefice of his birth-place, Stratford-on-Avon, to a Canonry of York and Archdeaconry of Lincoln.

As he had been some time at the Papal Court engaged on business of the Crown with Bishop Rigaud, his talents may have attracted notice there, and the chronicler, Blaneфорde, accepts the statement that the preferment was the Pope's free gift, uninfluenced by prayers or presents. Some Papal letters put a different face upon the matter. One sanctions a loan of £2000—about £30,000 in present value—to cover his expenses at the Court; a second presses for speedy payment to the money-lenders; a third remits ecclesiastical penalties incurred by the delay, on condition, however, that the debt should be immediately discharged. The Papacy, which had in earlier times discouraged interest on loans as quite immoral, now frequently secured by the sanctions of the Church the bankers who advanced the large sums required for the purchase of preferments. King Edward, however, had desired the appointment of his Chancellor, Robert Baldock, and instructed Stratford to promote the interests of his nominee. The despatches arrived perhaps too late, says Murimuth: more probably he ignored the wishes of a master, who in this, as in other cases, inspired in his servants neither loyalty nor respect.

The acceptance of the post, and the intrigues which had secured it, were not easily forgiven, and ominous words recited

in the Consecration Service in June, 1323, "Many are the troubles of the righteous," were remembered when the Bishop's estates were confiscated, and himself banned by royal proclamation for acceptance of the office without the sanction of the Crown. A year later the King's resentment died away, or Baldock's influence was on the wane: the Pope and some of the Bishops had intervened in his behalf, and the temporalities were restored, though on condition of a bond for £10,000, which if enforced would have made the price paid for the See a heavy one. His diplomatic powers were employed again in 1325, when Queen Isabella, allowed to go to France seemingly by his advice, maintained her guilty intercourse with Mortimer and her schemes to dethrone the King by force.

When the crisis came, an old bull against invaders of the realm was republished by Archbishop Reynolds, with the concurrence, it appears, of Stratford, and he was present when the bishops joined at Lambeth in feeble and ineffectual counsels in the interest of peace. He alone of them was willing to go with some other bishop to the Queen to try to avert the strife, but no one consented to accompany him, and his confidence of safety seems to point to earlier knowledge of her plots. When it succeeded he took the oath of fealty to the new rulers as Treasurer, and after the Archbishop's sermon before Parliament on *Vox populi vox dei*, he added: "Where the head is feeble, the other members suffer with it." He helped to frame the articles drawn up to justify Edward's removal from the throne, and he was one of the three bishops sent to require him to resign it in favour of his son.

As one of the appointed guardians of the young king he was prepared to serve him loyally, but he could not conceal his impatience at the uncontrolled ascendancy of Mortimer and Isabella. He withdrew from the Parliament at Salisbury in 1328, notwithstanding the orders issued that no one should leave without permission, and attended at Christmas a conference in

London of the supporters of Henry Earl of Lancaster, whom the Pope calls "the kinsman" of the Bishop. Warned that his life was now in danger, after demand had been made for payment of the bond for £10,000, he took sanctuary in the Nunnery of Wilton and then fled to Honiton and afterwards to Winchester, where Wolvesey Castle was found in too weak a state to screen him from attack. He retired therefore to the neighbourhood of Bishop's Waltham, where he lurked awhile as an outlaw in the forest glades. The fall of Mortimer brought relief from risk and hardship. The Great Seal was given him in 1330, and his was the guiding influence in the government which at this time effected the important changes of the division of both Parliament and Convocation into two separate houses, and of the establishment of a Court of Chancery at Westminster. The Chancellorship was several times resigned by him into the hands of his brother Robert, Bishop of Chichester, for diplomatic work and attendance on the King took him repeatedly away to Scotland, France, and Flanders, and his promotion to the primacy in 1333 may have stirred in him some wish to give less time to the affairs of State in the interest of the Church. His advancement was desired by the King, and accepted by the Chapter, but the Pope decided to ignore their wishes and to appoint him as of his own unfettered choice, a claim to meet which the Statute of Provisors was afterwards directed.

Stratford's cautious judgment mistrusted the adventurous policy of his master, though a strange story is told that both of them journeyed in the disguise of merchants in 1331 on a pilgrimage to certain shrines in France. Indeed he disapproved so much of the rash enterprise which led to the great naval victory of Sluys in 1339, that he finally resigned the Great Seal, and this was the prelude to the bitter quarrel that was soon to follow. Unable to provide the funds which were squandered in the course of an unprofitable war, though he made himself personally responsible for loans

raised for it, he roused impatient mistrust in the mind of Edward, and a dissolute court which found Stratford's decorum and economy little to its taste, would gladly seize the chance to rid itself of an importunate critic.

Edward returned suddenly to London in 1340 without warning, found the Tower unguarded, without preparations for the defence or maintenance even of his children, for the country had been drained of men and money for the war. Robert de Stratford, the Chancellor, and the Bishop of Lichfield, the Treasurer, were dismissed, and laymen appointed in their places; other officials were arrested, but the Primate, knowing the King's temper, had already hurried to the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, as to a safe shelter. Thither came early in December Nicholas Cantelupe, who, shewing his warrant in the presence of a notary public, required him in the King's name to prepare to go to Flanders to make good his bail for the money borrowed for the war. The official was dismissed without reply. The Archbishop, however, was not content to wait in patience till further action should be taken by the Crown. He chose the anniversary of the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury (December 29th) for the occasion of a striking demonstration, preaching first in the Cathedral on the fearless constancy of Becket, and deploring that, unlike that great example he had himself served the state, to the neglect of the more special duties of his office. He would devote himself henceforth to the defence of the claims and privileges of the Church, some of whose servants were now lawlessly imprisoned, and others slanderously branded as disloyal. All guilty of such violation of the Great Charter, or who attacked ecclesiastical rights, were solemnly excommunicated in presence of the clergy, who stood round in their robes with lighted candles in their hands. The sentence was published in all the Churches of the province. Meantime, the new ministry, under lay control, in its haste to provide funds, was dealing harshly and unfairly with the clergy, and the Archbishop lost no

time in redeeming the pledges given in his sermon. He wrote first to the King to warn him not to be led astray by evil councillors like Rehoboam, or to disregard the lessons of his father's misrule and fall. He expostulated with the Chancellor against the exactions levied on the clergy and the violation of the Great Charter in imprisonment without forms of law. In a letter to the King in Council he denounced all violent seizure of ecclesiastical property or persons, and informed the prelates of his province through the Bishop of London of the sentences of excommunication formally pronounced against all such offenders.

At first the only visible result of these vigorous letters was that messengers were sent repeatedly with formal summons to him to present himself before the King: merchants of Brabant were allowed even to post up in Canterbury, outside the Priory of Christ Church, a notice requiring the Archbishop to cross over to Flanders to discharge the debts for which he had been surety. But to meet the challenge which he had put forth so boldly an appeal to public opinion seemed required, and this came a few days afterwards (February 10th) in the King's letter to the Prior and Convent, which, by the Archbishop's desire, was read publicly in the Cathedral on Ash Wednesday, and answered in detail before the people.

The *libellus famosus*, as it was called, was a long and bitter indictment of the Archbishop, as having from the first determined the whole policy of the present reign as the trusted adviser of the Crown, encouraged the profuse liberalities of the young ruler which had exhausted the Treasury, ruined the military schemes which he had prompted by withholding the promised funds, and insulted the King by refusing to appear before him except in Parliament, as if he were in peril of his life, and the pledge of safe conduct would be broken.

Stratford replied point by point in firm but temperate language to the charges

brought against him, exposing inconsistencies in the messages of summons sent to him, and stating that far from applying to his own use the funds which the army was expecting, he had spent largely of his own means in his many journeys on affairs of state, for which he crossed the sea on thirty-two occasions, and that during the whole course of the war he had drawn only £300 from the Treasury for his own expenses. All this he offered to prove in his defence according to the law and custom of the realm.

The complaints of misrule were growing louder, and the Government found it needful to give way, and to summon Parliament to meet on the 23rd of April.

Then the Archbishop started on his way to London, journeying slowly from one to another of his manors, arriving finally at Lambeth on the day fixed for the meeting. On the morrow he proceeded to Westminster with his brother Robert and his kinsman, Bishop Ralph of London, together with a large escort of lay and clerical attendants. There at the door of the Great Hall he was met by the Baron of Stafford and others, who required him in the King's name to go first to the Exchequer Chamber before entering Parliament, and to answer the charges brought against him. The Archbishop replied that he had been summoned to take counsel with his peers, but as such was the King's pleasure he would go at once to the Exchequer. When the charges had been heard, he answered merely that he would take time to consider them, returning at once to the Hall and entering the Painted Chamber, where he took his seat with a few of the bishops, to whom he said that he was there to serve the King and to defend his honour. The Chancellor, unprepared for his appearance, adjourned the Parliament to the morrow.

Some days were spent by him, either at Westminster Hall, where the King refused to meet him, or at the Exchequer, where he replied to the accusations brought against him. Bishop Adam of Winchester and the

Chancellor urged him in vain to humble himself and sue for grace which the King would grant. Another time his way to the Painted Chamber was barred by the officials, and his refusal to retire was followed by a storm of insults and reproaches. Unseemly scenes recurred, and attempts were made to damage his character in the eyes of the citizens by false charges; but the people shewed their sympathy, and a Committee of Parliament reported that he could not be tried except in Parliament before his peers. The King began to mistrust the policy of his advisers. At length the Archbishop was allowed to take his place while the King was seated on his throne; all orders joined in pleading in his behalf, and the King's favour was restored.

The articles drawn up against him were formally annulled in 1343 as unreasonable and untrue, and use was made repeatedly of his services as an experienced adviser of the Crown. During the King's absence he was at the head of the Council in 1345 and in the following year. But during the remaining years of his life he devoted much more attention than before to ecclesiastical affairs. Two provincial councils were held by him in London, and constitutions were drawn up for the guidance of the clergy in which, besides earlier enactments then repeated, stringent rules were issued to curb extravagance in clerical dress, and abuses of official claims. His later vigilance, however, was less welcome than the earlier neglect; his visitation of Norwich was resisted, and the spiritual weapon of excommunication and the power of the Crown were both appealed to in his behalf.

Though his preferment had been due to Papal favour, he fully shared the national mistrust of the French bias of the Papal Court at Avignon, and sympathised with the resentment felt at the intrusion of aliens into the benefices of the English Church. Clement VI indeed, to whom strong remonstrances against his aggressions were addressed, regarded Stratford as the chief

mover in the policy of resistance, and though this was formally denied by Edward, there is no reason to doubt the Archbishop's approval of the course adopted.

In 1348 he was seized at Maidstone with an illness which he knew was fatal. He was carried to his favourite manor of Mayfield, where his charities had been large and regular, and there he passed away. "Then died," says Dene, "the chief adviser of the King, and in token of reward all his property was confiscated at his death, and havoc made of his estates." His body was taken to Canterbury to repose under the tomb on which his recumbent statue may be still seen.

His self-seeking and disloyal attitude towards the second Edward was shared by most of the bishops of his time; many of them had gained preferment by like intrigues, and as one of them warned the rest, the people ascribed most of the evils of the age to their fatuous ignorance and sloth (Dene). But he did his best to make amends for the faults of earlier years by his firm adherence to the principles of constitutional rule. To secure this he braved the resentment of the Queen-Mother and her paramour, and despite the displeasure of King and Court he maintained the rights of his order and the liberties defined in the Great Charter. His appeal to the precedents of Becket may seem belated, and his spiritual pretensions weakened by his long absorption in secular work; his flight to Canterbury appeared to himself unworthy of the inspiring local memories (MS. sermons in Cathedral Library of Hereford), but the result of his stand was a real gain to constitutional progress which had been jeopardised and delayed by Becket's death.

There is no striking element in his ecclesiastical constitutions, but they shew that he was anxious to restrain arbitrary action and curb official insolence in the Church as well as in the State.

Though the See of Winchester has supplied the State with many chancellors, since

Stratford no one before our days passed from it to the throne of Canterbury. Both as Bishop and as Primate he had friendly relations with the leading convents of his sees. At Winchester indeed the Prior Richard was found incompetent, and the Bishop was requested by the Pope to put another in his place. The monks mistrusting perhaps their own harmony did not apparently resent the loss of the freedom from interference with their Prior. At Canterbury he had kindly correspondence with the Prior of Christ Church, and found shelter there in time of need. Even St. Augustine's, whose chronicler, Thorn, snarls

often at the rulers of the Church, came to an agreement with him on matters long disputed.

Of his benefactions to his native place some traces are still left in the enlargement of the aisles and tower of the church. His chantry of course was swept away, with its college of priests endowed for a constant round of prayer for the peace of his soul and that of others. By a curious reversal of the usual relations, when he bought the advowson of the church, he made it over to his college, the priests of which became the patrons not the subordinates of the parson.

Adam de Orleton, 1333—1345.

When John de Stratford passed from Winchester to the throne of Canterbury his place was taken in the former See by Adam, bishop of Worcester, who had played a prominent part in the intrigues and political struggles of the last reign, and had still before him some years of his "great bustling in the world," as Fuller calls it. His surname points to a place in the north of Herefordshire which belonged to the Mortimers of Wigmore, but others of his name held property and filled public offices at Hereford, where he was said to have been born. As Doctor of Canon Law and Papal Chaplain and Auditor he had prebends given him both at Hereford and Wells, as well as various Rectories in other dioceses, and acted often as Papal Commissioner by special mandate. The See of Hereford fell vacant when he was at Avignon in 1317 on business of the Crown, and it was bestowed on him by Pope John XXII, against the wishes of Edward II, who had written to the Pope and Cardinals in order to secure it for Thomas de Charlton, and had ordered Orleton to refuse it if offered to himself. The temporalities however were given to him soon after his consecration, and during the next three years he was sent several times on affairs of State both to the French and Papal Court. The Pope meantime shewed him marks of special trust and favour, empowering him to deal firmly with dissolute convents and a somewhat stiff-necked Chapter which occasionally resisted episcopal control. He lost no time in acting on his powers at the Abbey of Wigmore to which he wrote in 1318, "I will visit in head and members that monastery of yours which the Lord hath blessed of old in the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth." He kept his word, appointed a new abbot, banished two canons, and trounced the rest with little mercy.

When the Barons rose against Edward and the Despensers in 1321 the Bishop's

local sympathies decided him in favour of Roger Mortimer, to whom he promised help and sent men of arms to Ledbury to join his forces, and went to demand of Edward in the name of the barons the dismissal of the hated favourites. The heads of the party died for the most part on the battlefield or on the gallows, and Adam was not shielded by his spiritual office from attack. Summoned before Parliament he refused to make answer to the charge of treason, except with the sanction of his brother bishops, who interceded vainly for him with the King. The whole episcopal order took him under their protection and screened him by their anathemas from arrest. But the trial proceeded in his absence, unprecedented as it seemed for a bishop's crime to be brought before a lay tribunal, and he was found guilty, his revenues and lands were confiscated, his property, Blanford reports, was flung into the streets, but "naked and forlorn as blessed Job he bore it all with patience."

The Pope indeed wrote to him to be humble and avoid scandal, and pleaded for him repeatedly with Queen Isabella and Hugh Despenser, but Edward's resentment was not yet appeased, and he begged the Pope in 1324 that as guilty of treason he might be deposed. He did not therefore, like other bishops, hesitate when the Queen landed in 1326 to raise the country against her husband, but acted at once as her chief adviser, and preaching before the University of Oxford on the text, "My head, my head," (2 *Kings* iv, 19), applied it in the sense that the state sorely needed a change of head and better rule. It was due probably to his local influence and that of his family that Hereford became for a time the head quarters of the Queen, and it was there that Hugh Despenser and others found an ignominious death when the King was taken prisoner. The Chancellor Baldock, handed over to the Bishop's custody for benefit of clergy, was seized by the citizens of London and lodged in Newgate, when he was rashly or cruelly exposed to their

vindictive passion on his way to the Bishop's house on old Fish Street Hill.

He took a prominent part and was perhaps the guiding influence in the tragic scenes which followed. When Parliament met in January, 1327, he took the chancellor's place and declared that the Queen would be in peril of her life if she joined her husband, and after speaking on the subject of the King's dethronement bade the members go home and reflect and give their decision on the morrow. At their next meeting, after some hesitation, they voted with one accord that the son should take his father's place. The bishops of Hereford and Winchester were sent to Edward, and vainly tried to persuade him to appear before Parliament. On his refusal a deputation, of which bishop Adam was the spokesman, drove him with bitter words to resign the Crown in favour of his son. Still worse things were imputed to the "architect of all this evil," as a chronicler calls him. It was said that an ambiguous message, which might be read as either to encourage or forbid the murder of the dethroned prisoner, was sent to those in charge, who read in it the meaning which they wished to find there. The story indeed is copied in the main from a chronicle of earlier date, and the Bishop was far away treating for a bride for the young king when the fatal deed was done, but that the tale should be believed is in itself an ugly fact. An entry in the Patent Rolls may imply some sense of pity at the tragedies at which he had assisted. In 1327 a licence was granted to the Earl of Hereford, at the request of bishop Adam, to alienate a property in mortmain in order that the Warden and chaplains of the Cathedral might celebrate mass thenceforth for the souls of the new King, his father and mother, and for bishop Adam himself.

The temporalities of the See, which had been long withheld, were now of course restored, and he was made Treasurer; and in the full confidence of the new rulers he was sent to France on special missions connected with the royal marriage, when

four marks daily were allowed him for the expenses of his household. While he was at Avignon the bishop of Worcester died, and again advantage was taken of the opportunity, and the Papal nomination was secured by him, although the Chapter had with the royal assent elected their own Prior to the office, and several letters had been sent by the Crown to bishop Adam to see that the Chapter's choice might be confirmed. What was his reason for desiring the translation does not appear. The income of the See of Hereford seems to have been greater than that of Worcester, though his predecessor, Swinfield, wrote of it as one of the smallest in all England, and the Pope in 1333 sanctioned the appropriation by him of the church of Blockley on the ground that the income of the See of Worcester was quite insufficient for his needs.

The self-willed prelate was summoned before the Parliament at York in 1328 for his disobedience and unlicensed acceptance of his new See, but the storm passed over, and he was employed soon after and in following years on business of State in foreign parts. In the course of these commissions he gained the favour of Philip VI of France, and at his request was nominated by the Pope to the See of Winchester when it was vacated by Stratford in September, 1333. Again the will of the King was disregarded and this time more serious offence was given, for in March, 1334, when notices were sent to all the bishops exception was made in the case of "Adam, who claims to be bishop of Winchester." The temporalities were not restored till September, 1334, after intercession of his brother bishops, and many letters written by the Pope to the King and the Archbishops and other persons of influence. More than that demand had been made to the Papal Court that "a man infamous for many crimes" should not be promoted to higher rank, and three charges were formally brought against him: that he had (1) allowed Baldock to be done to death by the rioters in London, (2) called Edward II a tyrant

and so estranged the hearts of his subjects from him, (3) induced Queen Isabella to refuse to join her husband. He met the charges with a clever and elaborate apology, laying much of the responsibility for all that had occurred on the newly elected Primate, explaining the term "tyrant" used by himself as applied to Satan and Hugh Despenser, and appealing to the proclamations of the Queen Mother and her son as evidence of the facts on which he had commented in sermons and speeches to the Parliament, and to the instructions of the nobles assembled at Wallingford, on which he acted in setting forth publicly the reasons for her action.

For some time after this he seems to have taken little part in political transactions, and perhaps from caution made no effort to compete with the influence of Stratford while he was the chief adviser of the Crown. But in 1341 the sudden change of ministry and Edward's estrangement from the Primate caused a reappearance of bishop Adam on the stage. The *libellus famosus* issued in the King's name—a phrase which the Bishop had himself employed in his defence of 1334—was believed to have been penned by him, and his denial of its authorship was evidently not accepted by the Archbishop, who listened in silence to his statement. At Westminster Hall his attitude was markedly hostile to the statesman in disgrace. He urged him to humble himself before the King, and so recover his good graces, but in a conference with the peers he tried with glee, says Birchington, to stir up strife with charges which his hearers knew were false and presently exposed. In the final scene, when prelates and lay peers pleaded with the King in the Archbishop's behalf, the name of Adam of Winchester is not found in the list.

After that time he vanishes almost entirely from public life, except that we hear of a Visitation of the Priory of Winchester conducted by him in 1342; he became blind, and died at Farnham in 1345, and was buried in his own Cathedral.

His episcopal career was remarkable in the eyes of his contemporaries in that he held three bishopricks in succession, in all cases by Papal favour and against the expressed desire of the King. Wits made merry with his supposed motives, as in the lines, where the Sees are indicated by the names of their patron Saints—

Thomam despexit : Wolstanum non bene rexit :
Swithunum maluit. Cur? Quia plus valuit.

In 1334 the surprise and discontent at his promotion found expression in a formal opposition and appeal by John Pebrehave, a literate of the diocese, but unfortunately the grounds have not been stated in the Papal letter on the subject.

There are, however, indications of a generous and kindly spirit. He founded a hospital in Hereford, of which there are now no local memories, and his relations with the chapter there were for the most part cordial and considerate. He helped to obtain the Papal sanction to appropriate, according to the custom of the age, a valuable benefice, the income of which has been the mainstay of the fabric ever since; he gave liberal aid besides when he heard at Worcester that "his former spouse," as he termed it, was distressed for want of funds. Long afterwards he signed a deed at Winchester which secured a home for an old friend or dependent at Hereford, and poor relations of bishop Swinfield came also to him there with the sure hope of kindly welcome. At Winchester he helped the nuns of St. Mary's, sore pressed by agricultural depression, to appropriate the church of Froyle to enable them to pay their debts. He seems, however, to have been vigilant in correcting conventual disorders, as at Wigmore, Abergavenny, and St. Guthlac's.

His later years were spent in quiet, and he found perhaps comfort in the thought that early in his career Pope John XXII had tenderly provided that his confessor might give him at his hour of death plenary absolution of all repented sins.

William de Edyndone, 1345—1366.

Immediately after the death of Bishop Adam the monks of St. Swithun's took steps in haste to put their prior, John Devenesche, into the vacant See, and though a royal mandate was sent to them to suspend further action, they persisted in their choice, some of them even threatening the King's messenger with violence, and "procuring the election by false confederacies arranged before among themselves," as was stated in a letter patent ordering a commission of inquiry by the Sheriff. King Edward, careless of consistency in his dealings with the Papal Court, appealed to Clement VI to set aside the election of the convent in favour of his Treasurer, William de Edyndone, and with the potent "influence of money his erroneous petition was accepted" (Thorn), and John Devenesche was bidden to wait at Court till other preferment could be found for him.

The new Bishop, whose name was taken from a village in Wiltshire, obtained his first post in the service of the Crown with the help of his predecessor, bishop Adam, who had given him the benefice of Cheriton. He had had before a parish in the Diocese of Lincoln, from which he passed by exchange to Bledon in Bath and Wells, of which the Bishop of Winchester was patron. He was made Keeper of the Wardrobe and Treasurer, and rewarded as usual with a variety of ecclesiastical appointments, including prebends at Lincoln, Salisbury, and Hereford, and the Mastership of the Hospital of St. Cross. By Papal dispensation he was allowed to retain his benefices three months after the lapse of the canonical term following his election to the See, and to meet the necessary expenses of promotion he was favoured with an indult which allowed him to demand a charitable subsidy from every clerk, regular or secular, in the City or Diocese of Winchester.

He held the office of Treasurer from 1345 to 1356, and "caring more for the convenience of his royal master than for the interests of the community" (*Chron.*

Angliæ), he introduced in 1351 a debased currency, which speedily affected market prices, of which "the crafty and fraudulent among the working classes were not slow to take advantage." But the shortened supply of labour, due to the ravages of the "Black Death," was of itself sufficient to account for great fluctuations in the prices of commodities. In 1356 he became Chancellor, and held the Great Seal for six years. Shortly before his death in 1366 the Chapter of Canterbury elected him Archbishop at the King's desire, but he declined the office, probably from the sense of failing powers, though the familiar epigram implies that he preferred "the deeper manger to the higher rack."

Throughout his career he seems to have retained the respect and confidence of King Edward, who wrote of him in the charter of 1349, which confirmed the privileges of St. Giles' Fair, that "we have known him to have been prudently and usefully engaged in ceaseless and diligent work, and to have long and faithfully watched over our affairs." It was natural therefore that the Bishop should become the first Prelate of the newly founded Order of the Garter; the honour passed from one to another of his successors in the See.

The Church of the Parish from which his name was taken was rebuilt at his expense, and a College was founded for a dean and twelve clerks in honour of the Virgin, St. Catherine, and All Saints, but at the request of the Black Prince this chantry was changed to one of the order of the reformed Austin Friars called "Bonhommes." His most enduring work, however, was done at Winchester, where the structural changes in the nave were begun by him with the transformation from the Norman to the Perpendicular style. He only lived to carry out the rebuilding of the west front, and one bay of the south aisle adjoining it, and two of the north aisle, but he left directions in his will that some of his property should be devoted towards the completion of the Cathedral nave which he had thus begun. In the

course of this work of Edyndone it appears that parts of the building which extended forty feet beyond the present front must have been removed, belonging probably to earlier towers or to some kind of western transept too ruinous to be preserved (Willis, *Archæological History*, p. 66).

Our cathedrals indeed benefited largely by the clerical celibacy which was so long enforced. The vast sums accumulated by wealthy prelates found a fitting use in the fabric funds of the great churches with which their names have often been inseparably linked, chantries themselves on a colossal scale, within which nestled the little chapels specially so called like the chantry of Edyndone on the south side of the nave in which his body rested, and where it was recorded of him that—

“Pervigil Anglorum fuit adjutor populorum,
Dulcis egenorum pater et protector eorum.”

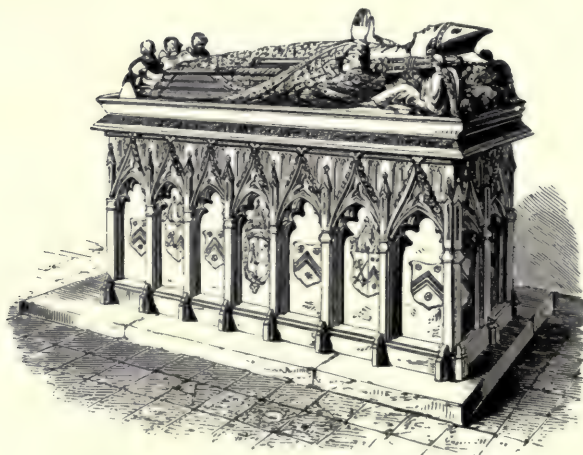
For among the great English ecclesiastics nepotism was rare, and their bounty open-handed. One writer indeed tells us that he distributed in works of charity most of his means while he still lived. Yet it cannot be said that he neglected the interests of his kinsmen. He is reported to have spent much on the repairs of St. Cross before he became bishop, but he did no good service to the Hospital when in 1350 he collated to its Mastership his nephew John, who treated

it only as a source of profit, carrying off all that could be plundered on the estates or in the house itself, and then resigning it when stripped and bare. In 1351 the Archdeaconry of Surrey was added to the Canonries of Salisbury and Lincoln and the Church of Ringwood which he also held. At Farnham, which went with the Archdeaconry, money had been left by a preceding rector and a large quantity of stone prepared for the repairs needed in the chancel. Both money and materials passed into the Archdeacon's hands, and in 1368 he was cited to appear before the Court of Bishop Wykeham, who had seen himself the ruinous condition of the buildings. Another kinsman, Thomas de Edyndone, who at the age of 17 had canonries at Salisbury and Chichester, was enabled by special dispensation to hold besides a benefice with cure of souls.

Amid the cares of public office and the interests of cathedral restoration, the Bishop had found little time to attend to the manor houses and other buildings of the See. Some of them were in a ruinous state, and the dilapidations on them all were very heavy; his executors admitted liabilities to the amount of £2109, a sum equivalent to twenty or even thirty thousand pounds of present value.



Portrait of William of Wykeham.



William of Wykeham, 1367—1404.

The life of William of Wykeham has been so fully dealt with of late years in writings familiar to so many readers that it may be enough to give here a brief summary of the facts of his career, with some estimate of the more marked features of his character, as it is impossible to treat the subject adequately within the limits of this series.

Known by the birthplace in Hampshire whose name he bore rather than by that of his father, who was a yeoman, he owed his early education near home and at Winchester, which his parents were too poor to give him, to the help of neighbouring landowners, whose favour he gratefully remembered in his later years. From work as notary (*tabellio*) in the office of the Constable of Winchester Castle he passed into the royal service, and was engaged for some time as a king's clerk in duties not specially described till in May, 1356, he was made overseer of building works on certain manors, and in October at Windsor Castle. In 1359 he became chief warden and overseer of other royal castles, parks, and manors, with large powers to provide the necessary labour and materials. He had the charge also of Old Windsor Forest and the Forest on this side Trent, and was engaged in 1361 at Queenborough Castle. In 1364 he became Keeper of the Privy Seal, and we now begin to hear of his paramount influence with King Edward, in consequence of which he was nominated Bishop of Winchester in 1366 and Chancellor in the following year.

During this period he had been a pluralist to an astonishing extent. Nearly all, however, of his benefices consisted of cathedral prebends and the like without cure of souls, and these would have otherwise been held for the most part by non-residents in any case, and many of them by foreign ecclesiastics, who had done little to deserve them here. But his first preferment in 1349 was to a Rectory, when he was only in minor Orders; his second, eight years afterwards, was to another, the patronage

of which was matter of dispute between the King and Pope, and his temporary acceptance of it may have brought upon him the displeasure of the Papal Court. Possibly this found expression in successive Bulls. One of these directed a bishop to examine him and test his fitness for a prebend lately given him; a second was levelled against pluralism and therefore indirectly against Wykeham; a third made him only administrator of the see to which he was elected, and the last half a year later conferred the bishoprick as by provision and not by consent merely.

The period of Wykeham's political activity was one of national humiliation and disorder. It cannot be said that he showed in it any special powers of statesmanship. The clerical Ministry of which he was the head left the kingdom ill-prepared for the disasters of the war in France; the lay Ministry which took its place in 1371 was even less competent, and sanctioned scandalous speculation. But Wykeham was harsh and hasty in the summary proceedings taken in 1376 against Lord Latimer, the chief offender, and soon suffered in his turn. John of Gaunt, once his friend, became his bitter enemy, and with such help weighty charges of abuse of official power were summarily pressed as against Latimer; he was condemned to pay an enormous fine, the temporalities of the See were confiscated, and himself forbidden to be within twenty miles of Court. Moving from place to place he found a shelter in the Abbeys of Merton and Waverley. The storm soon passed over. The bishops declined to act in Convocation without his presence there, and his estates were then restored to him. It was mere idle gossip, probably, which one chronicler recorded (*Chron. Angl.*), that he made "friends of the mammon of unrighteousness" and won the favouring influence of Alice Perrers, the King's mistress, by a heavy bribe. The King was already at the point of death, and on July 31, 1377, the new ruler granted him full pardon, and formally declared him "wholly innocent of

all the charges brought against him." He took little part in politics thenceforth until he became Chancellor again in 1389, an office which he resigned after two years, during which a stringent Statute against Provisors was enacted, and the Privy Council, made by his policy of conciliation to represent all the jarring sections of the greater nobles, was armed with ampler powers to secure a more constitutional rule.

Whether in or out of office in the service of the State he kept steadily in view his episcopal duties and the interests of his See. His Register amply illustrates his business-like precision and characteristic impatience of abuses. The Hospital of St. Cross had been plundered, and its Mastership had been treated as a lucrative sinecure, but one of his first cares was to call sharply to account the Archdeacon of Surrey, and others through whose hands it had passed. He was met with evasions and appeals to the Papal Court, but he fought the case steadily for seven years till his object was secured. The enthusiasm of the monastic ideal had spent its force, and many of the smaller convents were now lamentable failures; Wykeham did what he could to arrest decay by formal visitations, monitions, and measures of reform, as at St. Mary Overy, Christ Church Twynham, Selborne, Hamble, and Southwick. He tempered indeed severity with kindly acts even in flagrant cases, as when he helped to pay the Canon's debts at Selborne. But he showed no weakness when episcopal rights were challenged and firmly checked encroachments at St. Swithun's, where in 1398 a formal agreement was executed in the Chapter House pursuant on an award of the Archbishop. He frequently interposed to protect the interests of parish churches from the greed of the monks who had appropriated the rectorial tithes, neglected the repairs of the chancels, and drawn away worshippers with their offerings from parochial services to the more imposing ceremonies in the convent chapels. The parishioners in their turn had to be admonished not to withhold

their contributions to repairs and bells, not to carry off the materials or encroach upon the sites of disused churches, where the ravages of the Plague had swept the worshippers away.

Excellent as was the Bishop's activity in pastoral care, his enduring fame was due to the services he rendered to interests of other kinds. To education of course first and foremost. Himself not a finished scholar, trained in Academic learning, he would make splendid provision for the class from which he sprung, and help to supply a learned clergy sorely needed after the Visitations of the Black Death. Soon after he became bishop he took steps to buy land in Oxford for his intended college there; on September 1st, 1373, he made a contract for ten years with a master to teach the boys whom he maintained at Winchester, and at the time of his disgrace in 1376 it was said that seventy scholars were sent back to their homes awhile. In 1379 he executed the Charter of Foundation of his College in Oxford for a warden and seventy scholars, and in 1382 the Foundation deed of a College for seventy poor scholars at Winchester, the two "issuing from one stem and differing not in substance to be called by one name Sainte Marie College of Wynchester." Though its arrangements were in part borrowed from the Statutes of Merton College, and the combined provision for boys and riper scholars was not unknown elsewhere, the union in one scheme of two corporations, independent though in close and intimate relation, and on a grander scale than had been carried out effectively before, constituted its originality and its enduring value. Meant to be seminaries for the clergy, and to be recruited from the least wealthy of the middle class, not from the lowest social strata, Winchester College, and other great schools founded on the same lines, have had a potent influence on the temper and traditions of the laity of England. The few commoners of higher rank or fortune, doubtfully admitted at the first on the condition that they should be

no charge on the endowments of the school, expanded into ampler numbers, and helped largely to determine in later days the spirit of Public School life throughout the country. Though reverence for the conventional ideal was fast fading the methods of the common life of the secular clerks in school and university were still somewhat monastic in their outer form; the endowments even were in part provided from the estates of alien priories, but for these the Founder paid a fair price after the act of disendowment was completed.

They who know well the Cathedral of Winchester and are familiar with its history see the monument of Wykeham not merely in the chantry which bears his name, but in the stately nave which his munificence transformed. The work of reconstruction was indeed begun, and the architectural style determined by Edyngdone, but carried by him no further than the West Front and some parts of the adjoining walls. In 1371 Wykeham issued a monition to unknown persons who were removing the hewn stones and materials collected there, and this points to operations to be long suspended. He bought quarries in the Isle of Wight, and appealed to the heads of the religious houses and the secular clergy to help him to find workmen and means of transport. These however seem to have been employed on the repairs of his manorial buildings, which he specified in his appeal; the erection of his two colleges engaged his thoughts, and other causes intervened, and we do not hear of any further steps till his Visitation of St. Swithun's in 1393, when the structural defects of the Cathedral were found to be very pressing, and the Prior and Convent were separately charged with contributions to the repairs for seven years. The next year, however, the Bishop took the whole in hand himself, except the scaffolding and the old materials which with lime and sand were to be provided by the convent.

Not only was the Norman core of rubble work in the piers and walls left undisturbed, but in the piers themselves, after the arches

between them and in the triforium were removed, the shaped masonry was at first left in its place, and new perpendicular mouldings cut upon the face of the Norman stones. This method was abandoned after eight of the piers on the south side had been so treated, and in the rest the facing of hewn masonry was removed and replaced in the new style (Willis, *Arch. Hist.* p. 68). The work was far from being finished in his lifetime, and in his will he instructed his executors to have it carried on. From the directions given it appears that the Clerestory wall on the north side and the glazing of the windows remained still to complete the building.

The development of the architectural style may be paralleled elsewhere, and was part of the movement of the age; that the designing power and structural skill displayed in it, as in other works with which Wykeham was connected, were actually his own, admits neither of proof nor of disproof. Contemporary evidence says nothing of him as a rising architect when he was taken into the king's service, speaks only of notarial duties, and the post of "overseer" of castles to which he was appointed was filled in other cases by men of clerkly and financial skill rather than of structural powers. But in any case there is no reason to question the taste and insight which could approve of designs suggested to him, or the large-minded munificence which could take in hand at an advanced age such a great work of reconstruction.

In Wykeham then we see the mediæval bishop at his best; not rising indeed above the conventional standard of his age as regards the accumulation of pluralities, licences of nonresidence for study granted to immature incumbents, and appropriations of churches to the prejudice of the parishes concerned, but intolerant of recognized abuses, and intent to do his own work thoroughly and see that others did the like, striving to make the best of the men and manners of his time by a policy of conciliation and quiet constitutional progress, and therefore with scant sympathy for the

visions of reformers such as Wyclif, whose destructive criticism and passionate invectives must have shocked his sober judgment. With no striking powers as statesman,

orator, or divine, he left his enduring mark on his own and future ages, and with far-seeing bounty did a noble work for Church and State.



Winchester Cathedral—Chantry of Beaufort, Waynflete, and Gardiner.

Henry Beaufort, 1404—1447.

The See of Winchester was filled, after the death of Wykeham, by a strong man, who for nearly half a century took a leading part in the concerns of Church and State. Called after a castle in Anjou where he was born, Henry Beaufort was the second son of John of Gaunt and Catharine Swynford, and after the marriage of his parents in 1396 he with his brothers was declared legitimate by a patent of Richard II, which was confirmed by Parliament. Royal bounty showered upon him ecclesiastical preferments at a very early age, so much so that we find in the Papal Regesta an indult granted him in April 1397 to farm for ten years his deanery of Wells with the annexed prebend and with other benefices which he had held since 1389, while he might be studying at Oxford or elsewhere. The next year however the raw student became Bishop of Lincoln by Papal provision, displacing a bishop-elect who had incurred the King's displeasure, and was removed to Lichfield by an arrangement with the Pope, common in those days when the Crown, to gratify a passing whim, lightly disregarded the repeated Statutes of Provisors. While at Lincoln the young bishop was called upon to arbitrate in a dispute between the Dean and Canons, and to turn to account his studies in Canon law at Aachen by pronouncing one of the awards (*lauda*) which give importance to the constitutional history of that Chapter.

In 1403 Beaufort became Chancellor, but resigned the office the next year when he was translated to the See of Winchester. Then began the long political career in which he was a prominent figure in the Court and Council Chamber, and even on the field of battle, in the reigns of three Henries in succession. For a time under the first of these he was confronted by the paramount influence of Arundel, and a clause, inserted informally in a royal patent, barred any claim on his part to succession to the throne. When Henry's health and energy declined, and the Prince of Wales ruled, as it seems, practically in his father's

name, Beaufort was prominent among the advisers of the Prince, in whose favour the King's resignation was discussed. But the displeasure of the monarch during a short interval of returning strength forced Beaufort and his party to retire awhile from Court. The accession of Henry V in 1413 soon brought him into power again.

As Chancellor all the weight of his influence was thrown in favour of two movements, in which what seemed at the time complete success left a fatal heritage of difficulties in Church and State. The first was the prosecution of the Lollards, whose passionate defiance of authority was not likely to find favour in his eyes, when he sat as assessor with the Archbishop at the trial of Oldcastle, or had to deal with the subject in his sermon at the opening of Parliament in 1414. The second was the war with France after his failure as ambassador to arrange the terms of peace.

It has been often said that the leading ecclesiastics encouraged the warlike ambition of their King in order to divert his thoughts from the proposed attack upon the great possessions of the Church. Godwyn (*de praesulibus*) pushes this unwarranted suspicion further still when he implies that Beaufort's readiness to lend his money for the expenses of the war was due to the same fear. It was on the contrary his practice frequently repeated in the course of his career under very varying conditions. Nor is it quite consistent with the parsimony which the same writer imputes to him (*frugi ne dicam deparcus*).

Beaufort's influence was felt soon afterwards in another scene. The Council of Constance had been spending weary years of ineffectual debate on the reforms for which Christendom was longing, but which would be fatal to the interests of Cardinals and high officials of the Papal Court. Their resistance and intrigues now stopped the way with the plea that the Church whose Pope had been deposed must find a head again and then proceed to action. King Henry, weary of delay, came round to this view; Beaufort, starting under cover of a

pilgrimage, found himself at Constance, and interposed to such effect that difficulties were smoothed away and the electors made their choice, after which all prospects of reform were swept away for a century at least.

The new Pope, Martin V, grateful for the timely help from England, offered a Cardinal's hat to Beaufort, which he was obliged however to decline, for Archbishop Chichele was naturally jealous of the paramount influence of a Cardinal legate, and the King his nephew refused to have a papal representative so near his throne.

Henry at his death in 1422 left the guardianship of his infant son to Beaufort, on whom for many years rested much of the burden of government, grievously embarrassed by the factious rivalry of Gloucester, the so-called "good duke Humphry" of the populace of London, who thwarted and maligned him at the council board, when he was not himself busy on the Continent with marriage schemes which estranged the best allies of England. The support of Burgundy in the French wars required concessions to the Flemings which stirred the jealousy of London merchants, and made Beaufort's rule unpopular. Gloucester fanned the flame of discontent, and raked up old charges of disloyalty in the last years of Henry IV. Bedford had to be recalled in 1425 from the ill-starred wars in France to arbitrate between the rivals at the request of lords and commons. By the terms of a hollow peace thus brought about Beaufort's character was cleared, but his former ascendancy was not regained. He resigned the great Seal, and turned his thoughts awhile elsewhere.

The flames that were lighted at the funeral pyre of Huss at Constance were blazing fiercely in Bohemia, where the raw levies of the zealots were sweeping all before them. The Pope called for a crusade against the Hussites, and Beaufort, accepting the Cardinal's hat now offered him again, was as eager to crush heresy on the battle-field abroad as in courts of law at home. But his courage availed him little to

arrest the ignominious rout of the German host at Tachau, which he vainly tried to rally by example, and failing quitted them in scorn. He must have felt on his return that his acceptance of the Cardinalate had been a grave mistake, which prejudiced his hopes of ascendancy at home, especially as he insisted on retaining possession of his See. The Duke of Gloucester again and again protested against this, and refused to recognise his legatine commission. The Council, stirred by this persistent rival, requested him not to officiate as prelate of the Garter on St. George's day. Nor did the Pope gain much from the appointment, for the troops raised for the Crusade had to be used in France where the English forces were hard pressed, and the death of Martin in 1431 put an end to the legatine commission altogether, and to Beaufort's part in the struggle in Bohemia.

Gloucester's animosity meantime was unabated. He tried to exclude him from the Council as an alien by office, and therefore of questionable loyalty at home, but his right to be present there was confirmed, save when the Papal claims might be discussed. Then the attack was renewed on the fresh ground that he bought at Rome exemption for himself and his See from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury. This charge was pressed in Council with such support from unfriendly bishops that writs of *Præmunire* were sealed there against him, and his jewels were seized at Sandwich. But a petition from the Commons was presented in his favour and a Statute passed which screened him from all penalties connected with the exercise of legatine authority or the use of papal bulls.

Thwarted and maligned in England, he seems to have thought of renewed activity abroad. The Council of Basel was holding its long and ineffectual debates, and he obtained leave in 1433 to go to it and take £20,000 with him for some purpose not defined. The plan was changed, however, and the next year he proposed to go on pilgrimage, again with a large sum of money, but with much secrecy as to the

time and starting place, which it would be dangerous to disclose. This points apparently to some mysterious design, possibly to influence the Council on the election of a future Pope. In any case suspicions were aroused, for three or four years later the Privy Council recommended the King not to let him go to Rome or Basel, though they desired to grant him a full pardon for "all offences committed by him from the beginning of the world."

Meantime Bedford had died in France in 1435, and the continued struggle there was well-nigh hopeless. The wise policy was to strive for an honourable peace. Beaufort was repeatedly engaged in negotiations for this end, and to secure it he consented to the release of the Duke of Orleans, which was the occasion of another vehement attack from Gloucester. After the failure, however, to arrange the terms of peace he desired to prosecute the war with vigour, and lent his money freely for the equipment of the necessary forces. His loans to the Crown, indeed, spread over many years, were of very large amount, and it is surprising that he had so much to offer. But the income of his See was ample, and he held offices of State, as well as the administration of the family estates of the house of Lancaster, and he was clearly an expert financier who could turn his capital to good account. He fixed himself the securities which he required for his loans, but when economy was sorely needed in 1434 he resigned his own salary as Councillor to set a good example, and at the King's marriage gave the ruby with which the wedding ring was made. If he amassed wealth it was in no sordid spirit; he husbanded his resources skillfully, and spent them freely on occasion.

The last years of a busy life were spent at Wolvesey, when he had leisure, seldom found before, to devote himself entirely to the interests of his diocese, to superintend

the enlargement of the Foundation of St. Cross—where the stately tower with Beaufort's kneeling statue dates from his time—by the addition of the Brethren of Noble Poverty, drawn from a social class distinct from that of ordinary almsmen. There he could watch the building works of the Cathedral, which Wykeham had left unfinished, and have his device and motto carved among the sculpture to record his bounty, while the noble chantry was erected where his bones were soon to rest.

Early frailties would have made it hard to answer in his case with confidence the question which was sent by Papal order to the bishops when candidates with a stain upon their birth sought Holy Orders, when it was asked if they had shunned their father's fault (*si paternae imitator incontinentiae*), but at least there is no such imputation on his life as an ecclesiastic. The "black despair" of his last moments, painted so vividly by Shakespere, is probably as little true to facts as the name popular fancy gave to Gloucester. The scene before his death, as described by an eye-witness, is one of stately calm. The Requiem Mass, chaunted at his bedside by the Prior of St. Swithun's, the legacies provided for his servants, the bounty to his poorer tenants quietly reviewed, the last directions given with business-like precision—these present quite a different picture, which happily is well attested.

Worldly, ambitious, masterful he doubtless was; more at home in statecraft and finance than spiritual questions; but he was loyal to what he thought the interests of the Church; he had been honest, clean-handed, patriotic, in his public life, and though the outlook for his country might be somewhat dark in spite of his best efforts, yet he had probably no reason, according to his lights, for any special weight upon his conscience.

William of Waynflete, 1447—1486.

The very day of Beaufort's death King Henry desired the monks of St. Swithun's to elect a successor of a very different type, who was a scholar first, and a divine turned perforce into a statesman, but with no great natural gifts or inclination for a political career. William the son of Richard Patten, otherwise called Barbour, was born at Waynflete in Lincolnshire, after which parish he was generally called, though when ordained as acolyte he bore the second of his father's names. His mother was a daughter of Sir William Brereton, a landowner of Cheshire. Educated at St. Mary's, Winchester, and possibly a Fellow of New College (Leland), he is first found in clerical work at Spalding, in connection with its Benedictine Priory; thence he transferred himself to Winchester, where he was made Master of the School in 1429 by the Warden and Fellows, and appointed by Beaufort to the Headship of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen. Named in 1441 by royal favour Fellow of Eton in the charter of foundation he became Provost three years later, gaining there the respect and confidence of Henry who watched with tender solicitude the progress of the great school which he had founded and commended its Provost to the Chapter at Winchester as a "notable cleric and a substancial personne." He was endeared to the good and gentle king, we read, not so much by his scholarly attainments as by moral graces like his own. The intimate relation remained undisturbed during the lifetime of Henry, who ordained even that both his colleges should yearly celebrate solemn exequies for the soul of Waynflete after his decease.

The prominence of his great See, filled as it had often been by leading statesmen, brought with it many calls to public service, and in that age of social strife, to many posts of danger. There was soon such risk when in 1450 the insurgents under Jack Cade marched on London, and the Bishop was sent with others from the Council in the Tower to treat with them at

Southwark, and to promise a free pardon to all who would retire to their homes. But a few months later the rigour of the law was put in force against the rioters who were still in arms, and his name appeared on the Commission, with the natural result of the odium attaching to the office. Discontent was in the air, and at Winchester it found expression in violent protests against the dues charged by his agents at St. Giles' Fair, a long-standing grievance of the citizens, who resented the episcopal monopoly of trade. Submission followed in due course, but probably with no good grace. A year later there were threats of danger, probably from Yorkist sources, to meet which he appealed from the "peynted chambre" of his manor house at Southwark, both to the Pope and to the Primate for protection against suits in Spiritual Courts which might deprive him of his see. No further light is thrown however on the grounds of the attack expected.

Soon afterwards he issued a commission for the Visitation of his diocese, being detained himself by "arduous and unexpected business." The petition of the Commons for the removal of Somerset and the king's incompetent councillors was supported by Richard, duke of York, with an army in the field. Waynflete was sent with others to discuss a policy of reconciliation. That happily effected he took a prominent part in the events which followed, attending regularly the "sad and wise Council" for which the Commons pleaded, and steadily supporting York as the King's lieutenant in Parliament and afterwards Protector of the Realm during Henry's helpless imbecility. He baptized the infant prince, visited the poor sufferer in his helpless gloom from which he failed to move him, and when the cloud lifted in 1455: "Wept for joy to find him clear-headed as he had ever been."

The King's recovery renewed the mischievous influence of the Queen, broken for a while by the fall of her favourites at St. Albans, and by a second Protectorate of York. During this breathing time of

peace while Lancastrians and Yorkists acted for a while together in the service of the Crown. Waynflete received the Great Seal as the leader of a ministry of coalition.

Little occurred of moment during the first part of his term of office except the trial of Reginald Pecock, Bishop of Chichester, to crush whom a timid orthodoxy joined hands with party rancour. The one champion of the Church who examined the vagaries of the Lollards with dispassionate appeal to history and reason met with scant justice from the judges who had eyes only for the presumption and heresy that might be read by those who wished to find them in the questionable phrases which he used at times. There is no doubt that Waynflete was sincere in the narrow and unsympathetic treatment of his brother bishop, and it was no hasty judgment, for three years later he repeated it when the Statutes of King's College, Cambridge, were remodelled, and warnings against Pecock's tenets were inserted.

Statesmanship could do little in that period of frantic faction, and prudent as he was, "Warlike wielding the weight of his office" (Holinshed) he tried in vain to restore well-being to a country suffering from a bankrupt exchequer, general discontent, and great nobles ready to fly at each other's throats. His royal master like himself was helpless, and is said to have detained him sometimes from the council chamber to pray with him for better times; he witnessed indeed gladly a passing mood of reconciliation when the jarring factions walked hand-in-hand in solemn procession to St. Paul's; but before long he saw York driven into exile, and returning to avenge his wrongs, and then despairing of the crisis he resigned his office three days before the rout of the Queen's forces at Northampton in 1460.

Victory passed from side to side in rapid succession at the battles of Wakefield and of Towton, and the accession of Edward IV naturally exposed the Bishop to the resentment of Yorkist leaders. They thought perhaps of penal measures, and he

is said to have "fled for fere into secrete corners" till the storm might pass. But he was well known for the peaceful temper (*pacis zelator*) on which Henry laid stress in a generous letter written from captivity to Pope Pius II in his behalf, and he was "restored to his goodes and the king's favour" (Leland). An incident reported in the Rolls of Parliament at this time (1461) will serve to illustrate the popular excitement and the extent to which respect for episcopal authority was lowered. When Edward IV was travelling on royal progress the tenants of East Meon, where the old hall of the Manor Courts still stands, crowded round him to complain of the customary dues and services which their lord the Bishop exacted of them through his bailiff as the condition of their tenure. They appear to have stopped him on his way as he was attempting to escape, and to have used some violence for which their leaders were arrested. The case was brought before the House of Lords, and judgment given in the Bishop's favour. The stringency of the manorial rights had been so much relaxed since the Black Death that it would be of much interest to learn what were the special grievances in question, and why the tenants of East Meon should have vented their spleen upon their Bishop.

Receiving a full pardon and accounted as a "true and faithful subject" he accepted without reserve the decision of the country as to the final issue of the civil strife, and helped by his adhesion to give stability to the new dynasty, but old ties were not forgotten even when return to them seemed hopeless, and after Edward's flight from London in 1470 the Bishop hastened to the Tower to lead his old friend and sovereign out to freedom. But the victories of Barnet and Tewkesbury soon followed, and after a few months he needed again the full pardon which was generously granted. His relations with the Court became as cordial as before; he took the oath of fealty to Edward's eldest son, entertained the king in his college of Magdalen in Oxford, and

took part in the funeral ceremonies at Windsor.

In these vicissitudes he accepted the inevitable with a good grace, and thought more of the interests of stable government than of party cries and personal attachment. It may seem indeed that he pushed such indifference too far in his attitude to the usurper Richard. Open resistance certainly would have been hopeless on his part; as a man of peace he might accept what seemed the nation's will; he could not safely refuse to advance the loan required of him before the battle of Bosworth Field, nor decline to accept for his College part of the forfeited estate of the Duke of Buckingham; but it was not needful to entertain Richard as a visitor at Magdalen College in 1483, and the countenance thus given to a bad cause was surely matter for regret.

His active work in life was over before the accession to the throne of the heir of Lancaster, and he did not live to see the completion of the treaty of marriage between the two rival houses. In April, 1486, he felt that the end was near, and at his Manor of Bishop's Waltham he signed the will in which legacies were left to all the members of the religious houses of St. Swithun, of Hyde, and the Nunnery and College of St. Mary, as also to the friars and secular clergy of Winchester, with gifts to all the fellows, scholars, and choristers of Magdalen and New College at Oxford. In the spirit of his age he directed that 5000 masses should be celebrated for him in honour of the five wounds of Christ and the five joys of the Virgin Mary. He died on the 11th of August, and was buried in the Cathedral in his chantry of St. Mary Magdalen.

His chief title to the gratitude of posterity consisted in his splendid foundation

in the University of Oxford. His educational endowments there began as early as 1448, a few months after his enthronement at Winchester, when he procured letters patent for a hall for the study of theology and philosophy to be dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, probably in memory of his relations with the hospital at Winchester; but he enlarged his scheme and built a college on a greater scale near the original site, the charter of which was executed in 1458. To this he diverted with the Pope's consent the funds which had been left by Sir John Fastolf—to whom he was executor—for the foundation of a college at Caistor, as also the endowments of some religious houses, such as that of Selborne, which had failed hopelessly to maintain the conventional ideal, thus setting an example which was to be followed presently for very different ends.

There he entertained Edward IV in 1481 and Richard II in 1483, and for this enduring monument of his bounty nearly all his remaining property was at last left in trust. But even for this he did not neglect the interests of his own birthplace, nor the school which his royal master planted and fostered, where he himself had laboured, and become life visitor by royal nomination. The buildings of Eton were finished mostly at his own expense, and Magdalen College School still remains, and was described by the antiquarian traveller as "the most notable thing in Waynflete." At St. Cross, where the endowments provided by Beaufort for "the almshouse of noble poverty" had been plundered during the civil wars, he did his best to secure for its support the benefices which still remained. The Cathedral he enriched with the monumental shrine which vies in beauty with his predecessor's chantry.

Peter Courtenay, 1487—1492.

Waynflete's successor in the See of Winchester came of a younger branch of the noble family of Courtenay. The home of Sir Philip, his father, was Powderham Castle in Devonshire, and from early associations and the influence of his kinsmen he was connected during most of his career with the interests of that county. Like others of his name he naturally went to Exeter College, Oxford, where he studied for three years in the Arts' Course, and after that spent three years more in the Faculty of Civil Law, being thus qualified to lecture on the Institutes in the nave of St. Mary's Church, after the grace for which he made formal application, as entered on the University books. Many years had passed since the study of Law was discountenanced by Papal bull for ecclesiastics, and since Peter of Blois defended it on the questionable ground that the Prophet Jeremiah was in some sense a proficient in that branch of learning. The highest honours in Church and State had long been its rewards, to the great discouragement, as Friar Bacon urged, of more profound and philosophic thought.

It had long been a customary practice for men of means and scholarly attainments to pass from one seat of general study to another. So to complete his education, Peter Courtenay betook himself to Padua, which was then, under the favouring care of Venice, one of the most eminent Universities of Europe. He devoted himself there to Canon Law, which then had special interest for pushing churchmen. The Theology of the Sorbonne had little attraction for ambitious minds, which turned instead to Gratian's Concordance of Canons and Decretals, by which the principles of Papal autocracy gained firmer hold upon their thought, while they rose themselves thereby to higher posts.

Family influence secured him from the outset an ample store of ecclesiastical preferments, beginning with a parish and Archdeaconsy in his native county, to which

were added in the course of time a prebend of Lincoln, the Deanery of Windsor, and in 1478 the Bishopric of Exeter by Papal favour.

The Statutes of Provisors had been repeatedly ignored, by neglect or connivance of the Crown, and as in a multitude of other cases no difficulties were raised when Courtenay was provided with the See. During his eight years of episcopal rule at Exeter political interests seem to have mainly occupied his thoughts and time. Accepting at first without demur the unscrupulous measures which put Richard III upon the throne, he took part speedily in the conspiracy of Buckingham, and with others of his family, and the support of Canons of the Cathedral, tried to organize a general rising in the county against the Usurper's rule. Failing hopelessly in this he fled to Brittany, where he joined Henry of Richmond in his exile, and took part in the schemes and enterprises which issued in the victory of Bosworth.

Henry VII was not unmindful of the services of Courtenay. The temporalities of the See, the estates which had been confiscated, were restored without delay, and the sentence passed against him was reversed in the first Parliament of the new reign; he was employed repeatedly on special commissions and in offices of trust, and was made Keeper of the Privy Seal, at a salary of twenty shillings a day. In this capacity his name appears for years in royal letters, besides the complimentary presents of rich robes, in which Henry VII, economical as he was in other ways, indulged a special taste, as indicated largely in his wardrobe accounts.

On Waynflete's death the King's influence was exerted on his behalf without delay. The temporalities were assigned to him, and a Papal bull of 29th January, 1487, translated him to Winchester. During the same year a number of the graduates of Oxford (*satagentibus togatis haud paucis*) put his name forward in the election of a Chancellor in competition with the Bishop of Lincoln, who had already served one term of office,

and was with difficulty re-elected (*aggre cancellarius emicuit*, Wood).

Courtenay's career was nearly closed, and there is little evidence of any further prominence in public life, or of ecclesiastical interest at Winchester. There was indeed one great function there during his time, when Prince Arthur was baptised there in great state, and the Cathedral gorgeously adorned, with the Doctors assembled "in rich copes and grey amys," while outside to do honour to a people's holiday two pipes of wine were broached in the church-yard, "that every man might drink enow." But the King and Queen were entertained, not at Wolvesey, but in the Warden's house, and it would seem therefore that Courtenay must have been then in failing health, unable to receive his royal master, with whom he had been long in close relations.

There is little of local interest with which his name can be connected. The lady chapel indeed was being lengthened and

the crypt built below, a thank-offering being given by the Queen towards the expenses, and Courtenay's arms were copied there as well as those of the royal family, as a token doubtless that he bore part of the charges. There too he was buried in 1492, for his leaden coffin was found in 1885, built into a wall in the crypt below the part extended beyond Bishop de Lucy's work. At Exeter the enduring memories of his episcopate were also associated with the Cathedral structure. The north tower was "ingeniously rebuilt" at his expense so as to "combine with late details the general Romanesque effect" (Freeman), and he put in it a clock of curious construction and a bell which bore his name.

Of features of personal character little or nothing is recorded; diocesan activities have left no traces except those in stone and mortar; he appears in history only as an educated lawyer, a busy politician, and a high-placed court official.

Thomas Langton, 1493—1501.

Thomas Langton was a native of Appleby in Westmoreland, and received his schooling there, as we are told, from Carmelite Friars, of whose educational interests little is heard elsewhere. He went thence to Queen's College at Oxford, to which north-countrymen resorted, but left it to escape the plague, like Richard Foxe, his successor at Winchester, and entered Clare Hall in Cambridge, becoming in 1461 a Fellow of Pembroke College, to which he gave the "Anathema Cup" which is still preserved. Proctor in 1462, he qualified in Civil and Canon law, but soon quitted the University. St. Thomas of Hereford, two centuries earlier, after long periods spent as a student at Oxford, Paris, and Orleans, could get a special licence of non-residence at the ripe age of fifty for further studies in theology; but the practice of the age was very different now. "Long continuance in those places," says Harrison of *Elizabethan England*, "is either a sign of lack of friends or of learning, or of good and upright life, as Bishop Foxe sometimes noted, who thought it sacrilege for a man to tarry any longer at Oxford than he had a desire to profit." We hear of him next as chaplain to King Edward, and as such employed by him on diplomatic errands on the continent. In one of these he used his influence with the French king at Troyes in behalf of Sellyng, the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, with whom he had been intimate at Padua and at Rome, to renew the grant of the sixteen hundred gallons of "the wine of St. Thomas," which had been sent yearly to the monks, with occasional breaks, since 1179. The grateful convent offered him in return the living of St. Leonard's, Eastcheap, which he declined, accepting however afterwards the benefice of All Hallows', Gracechurch Street, in much request among chaplains at the Court. In 1478 he was acting as Proctor in Convocation for the Priory of Christ Church, and proposes in a letter to Sellyng to deliver a speech there in its

interests if the Prior meantime will "labour in it." He tells his correspondent that the Bishop of Exeter has collated him to the Treasurership of the Cathedral, "which is worth a hundred marks."

At Edward's death there was no change in Langton's influence at Court. The See of St. David's was conferred on him in 1483, and notwithstanding the statutes passed against Provisors, he was formally licensed to send to Rome for the necessary dispensation that he might hold for life *in commendam* the benefice of Pembridge with his Bishoprick, there being, it was urged, such dilapidations in the manors of the See that without some help the dignity of the office could not be maintained. As Bishop-elect he was present at the ceremonies when Richard was received by Waynflete at Magdalen College, when "solemn disputations were performed in Hall, and the Muses crowned the King's brow with fragrant wreaths" (Wood). Richard "scattered his benevolences very liberally," and made a favourable impression, as it seems, on Langton, for he writes to his friend the Prior in something more than courtly terms: "The king contents the people wher he goes best that ever did prince; for many a poor man that hath suffred wrong many days have be relevyd. . . . On my trouth I lyked never the condicion of any prince so much as his. God hath sent hym to us for the wele of us all." Some doubt may be felt perhaps as to the motives of his praise, for he adds in the letter: "I trust to God that ye shal have such thythings in hast that I shal be an Ynglish man and no more Walsche." The words are explained by his speedy translation to a better See, and the King's language in his letter to the Chapter of Salisbury, shows that his support to the new government was really valued. "Havyng tendre regards as well unto the laudable merites, highe vertues, and profounde cunning, that the righte reverend fader in God, our righte trusty and right welbeloved counsaillor the Bishop of Saint David, is notarily knowen to be of, as unto othre his notable desertes,

continued trouthe, and faithful services to us in sundry wises doon to our singler pleasur, hertily pray you that ye wold have hym to the saide preemynece and pastoralle dignitie before all othre... preferred" (*Letters of Richard III*, I, 88, Rolls ed.).

The fall of Richard and the accession of Henry VII left Langton's fortune undisturbed; the manors granted by the former as a mark of royal favour were expressly exempted from forfeiture, and when he became Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, in 1487, it was clear that he had still influence at Court. For his early connexion with the College had been short-lived, and there were other reasons, doubtless, for the welcome which he found there. The Alien Priory of Sherborne, in the Diocese of Winchester, had been put like the rest at the disposal of the Crown, and Henry VI had given its estates to his favourite foundation of Eton College. Edward IV however, in 1461, annulled the grant and assigned the property to the Hospital of St. Julian at Southampton, which in its turn was annexed to Queen's College, and had made provision for religious ministrations on the site over which, as the Act recited, Popes and English Saints had watched in old time with fostering care. Cantilupe indeed had been Rector of the Parish Church hard by. There was now talk, however, of fresh resumption by the Crown, and seeing its interests thus threatened, the College was glad to have a Provost and a Master of the Hospital, whose influence might screen them from attack. He held both offices for a few years only, but left behind him when he gave them up, substantial marks of his rule in improvements in their buildings.

In 1493 he was translated to the see of Winchester, where he shewed his sympathy for the educational interests of his great predecessors by opening a school in the precincts of the palace, testing himself the progress of the scholars and encouraging their studies. One of them whom he sent on to the Queen's College was the Richard Pace, who after being the amanuensis of the Bishop, and attendant on Cardinal Bainbridge, became a notable diplomatist under Wolsey.

To the three bishopricks which he had held already a further promotion followed in 1501, when he was elected Archbishop of Canterbury, but a few days afterwards he died of the plague before the appointment was confirmed, and he was buried in the richly ornamented chantry which he had built in his own Cathedral. The decorative emblems which were carved there were repeated at Queen's College by his nephew, who added to the long musical note and the ton, which together stood for Langton, the figures of a roe and bear to indicate his own name Robert.

He bequeathed tokens of good will to the Colleges with which he had been connected, and did not in his benefactions forget his early friends, the White Friars of his native Appleby, nor the Churches of Penrith and Soham, where he had been Rector (*ubi olim fueram beneficiatus*).

In the critical times of civil strife he steered his course warily through the troubled waters, and as rulers rose and fell he served each with unquestioning loyalty in turn, and yet history records no words of grave disparagement from hostile voices.



Chantry of Bishop Foxe.

Richard Foxe, 1501–1528.

In Richard Foxe the Diocese had a Bishop worthy to be classed with Wickham and Waynflete, his great predecessors in the See, but many years of a busy life were passed before he found much leisure for ecclesiastical concerns or for the interests of education. He was born about 1447 at Ropesley, near Grantham, in the home of a yeoman father who had means enough to send him to school and University, not as a poor scholar to "goe a begging with bag and wallet, and sing *salve Regina* at rich men's doors" (Sir T. More), but able to migrate from Oxford, under pressure of the plague, to Pembroke College, Cambridge, and thence to Paris in due course, to verify the saying that "sundry scholes maken subtil schollers."

There he stayed probably many years, but he is not heard of there till Henry, Earl of Richmond, was at the court of the French King, seeking the help he needed in his bold enterprise to gain the English crown. When he quitted Paris he left Foxe, then a priest and doctor of canon law, to negotiate in his behalf, and the news of this made Richard III intervene in 1485 to prevent his institution to the Vicarage of Stepney, as being "with the great rebel, Henry of Tudor."

When the victory was won at Bosworth, Foxe became a member of the King's Council, where with Morton he kept watch over his master's interests being "vigilant and secret" (Bacon).

He then rose rapidly to high estate, and as Lord of the Privy Seal was for many years a trusted confidant of King Henry, employed in diplomatic business of great importance, as in the negotiations of the treaty of Estaples and in the interviews with King James of Scotland, where he arranged the preliminaries of the marriage with the Princess Margaret, which resulted in the happy union of the two crowns. Meanwhile he was rewarded in the customary way with ecclesiastical preferment,

with a natural understanding that the duties of such offices could be performed only by deputy, but Bishops *in partibus* were always to be found, and their services could always be secured. He became Bishop of Exeter in 1487, and of Bath and Wells in 1492, and in both cases the purely episcopal functions were discharged by an Archbishop of Tenos. Then he was translated in 1494 to Durham, where his presence on the Scottish borders would be of service to the State and dangerous to himself, as was proved indeed ere long when he was besieged by the invaders in his Castle of Norham, which, however, he had had the foresight to fortify and provision amply for defence.

In serving the interests of a thrifty and somewhat grasping monarch, like Henry VII, he could not easily escape some hostile comments. The practical dilemma, commonly called Morton's fork, was attributed to him, when gaily dressed clerics were taxed for a state loan on the scale of their visible expenditure, while others who came in sorry garb had to subscribe in regard to their apparent savings. Men quoted without misgiving the jest or sarcasm fathered on the Bishop's chaplain, "my lord, to save the King's turn, will not stick to agree to his own father's death."

The decease in 1509 of Henry VII, for whom he acted as executor, made no difference for a time in the political influence of Foxe, already for some years Bishop of Winchester (1501), but his position was now more difficult, for his authority was balanced by that of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, who had little love for the economical traditions of the last reign. But the ambassador of Venice spoke of Foxe as an *alter rex*, and royal influence decided in his favour the issue of a dispute with Warham, which had been referred to Rome already, as to the prerogatives of the Archbishop's Court in business of probate and administration—a curious revival of the protests raised two centuries earlier

by the Bishops with Cantilupe at their head against the pretensions of Archbishop Peckham.

The war with France in 1513 gave commanding influence to Wolsey, and from this time the Bishop falls into the background, though he was present with the invading army, and acted afterwards as commissioner in the treaty of peace and marriage which was concluded in 1514. It has been thought, on the slender authority of Polydore Vergil, a biased witness, that Wolsey schemed to oust Foxe from his place at court with a view to the monopoly of influence there. But the letters which passed between the two prove clearly that this was the malicious invention of the writer, which Archbishop Parker did not scruple to repeat. In answer to pressing appeals from Wolsey in 1522 to take more part in the affairs of the state, Foxe urges his own weariness of worldly business, and his compunction at his past neglect of higher duties. Of the four cathedral churches he had held "there be two, scilicet Excestre and Welles, that I never see, and innumerable sawles whereof I never see the bodies."

Such regret to a sensitive conscience was natural enough, though the neglect in question was condoned largely by the opinion of the age, and the Crown insisted on its right to withdraw—as by Papal dispensation—any of its clerks from the obligation of residence on their cures.

Thenceforth for the few years of life which still remained he gave himself wholly up to the administration of his diocese and the educational interests of the future. In the former he found much to trouble him; the condition of the clergy gave him grave concern; the monks, as he wrote to Wolsey on 2nd January, 1521, were so depraved, so licentious and corrupt, that reformation seemed to him quite hopeless in his diocese. Such evidence from one who had seen no little of the world, and had no personal bias, we may well remember when we read the apologies for

the monasteries in the days of their decline put forth in the name of history.

After a blindness of some time he passed away full of years and honours on the 5th October, 1528, and was buried on the same day in the Cathedral in the "gorgeous chantry which, from the hours of devotion which he spent in this destined spot of his interment, obtained the name of Foxe's study" (Milner).

There is much indeed besides in the Cathedral which recalls his memory, as the vaulting of the choir, the tracery of the stone partitions on each side when the Norman aisles were taken down, the east end gable crowned by his figure, the flying buttresses with his favourite emblem of the pelican and its eucharistic symbolism, and the mortuary chests set one over each arch, and replacing the leaden coffins due to an earlier bishop.

Farnham Castle and the Hospital of St. Cross were indebted to his bounty, as also the castles of Durham and Norham, and the abbeys of Glastonbury and Netley, and St. Mary's Church in Oxford; in Ropesley, his native place, it is believed that he left his mark on the parish church, where the south porch and the elaborate tracery in the south aisle date from his time.

The great work of his life, however, was connected with the universities, and it is by this that his memory endures. With both Oxford and Cambridge he had intimate relations, dating from his boyhood. As an executor of the Lady Margaret he had helped Fisher and others to complete the foundation of St. John's College, Cambridge, which was left unfinished at her death. He was also from 1507 to 1519 Master of Pembroke College, to which he had been elected probably for some special purpose, as his predecessor, Langton, was at Queen's in Oxford. It is therefore somewhat surprising that as Visitor of Magdalen College he should have ruled, after appeal to him, that the President, Mayhew, being Bishop of Hereford, must resign his office as incompatible with his other duties. But he

provided in the Statutes of the College that he founded that the Head might not also be a Bishop. Besides his relations with the Colleges already named he also, under a commission of Pope Julius II, drew up amended statutes for Balliol College, which were in force till recent days, and was himself elected its Visitor in 1511.

His great Academic work was the foundation in 1515 of Corpus Christi College, the name of which was in close connection with his favourite symbol. This was remarkable not only because he endowed a secular college, rather than an establishment for young monks, at the possible suggestion of Bishop Oldham, for indeed it is surprising that he had any such idea, at a time when the whole conventual system was fatally discredited, and reforming movements as well as new foundations were matters of the past. Nor again was it the bounty merely that called a new college into being out of his own private funds that requires grateful notice so much as the new spirit of a wider humanism that was to find in it official recognition. The study of Greek was to be naturalised in it; foreign lecturers were to be given a welcome without regard to national prejudice; mediæval commentaries replaced by the Fathers of the Church; and the new spirit of the Renaissance to breathe in the text of ancient study.

His aim throughout the Statutes which regulated the life of the community was to "extirpate barbarism from his beehive," and train a learned clergy in what Erasmus called its *trilinguis bibliotheca*, combining the study of the poets, historians, and orators of Greece and Rome with the dominant theology and the logic of the schools.

To the College he left his crozier, chalice, paten and rings, and there they are still preserved.

Bishop Foxe's Tomb.

The tomb of Bishop Foxe was opened on January 28th, 1820. The discoveries then made are described by Canon Nott in a careful report which he shortly afterwards gave to the President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, a copy of which exists in the Cathedral Library.

About three feet of earth had accumulated at the back of the altar screen. In the course of its removal a part of the pavement was lifted, unexpectedly disclosing the large ledger stone of Bishop Foxe's tomb close to the surface. This stone was seen to be broken into three parts, with wide cracks, through which much earth had fallen, and it was decided to replace it with a new one. When the new stone was ready, the broken one was lifted in the presence of Dr. Nott and other Canons. It was then seen that the coffin was entire, the unfastened lid lying upon it in the manner in which it had originally been placed. The coffin itself was formed of loose oak planks, joined very lightly together without nails, such as might have been used either for the sake of great humility or owing to the need of haste. On each side of it lay the pieces of the wands of the officers who had attended the funeral, and between it and the sides of the tomb four or five large pieces of painted marble (described below). On removing the lid it was seen that the remains lay exactly in the form in which they must have been placed. The Bishop's head rested gently inclined upon his bosom. The features were destroyed, but there was enough of the dried flesh remaining to give a general appearance of a human face. The mitre, in great part remaining, continued on the head. It had been of velvet, the plush being quite perished, but the webbing was nearly entire. On the left side lay the crozier, the hand bent round still seeming to hold it. The right hand rested on the bosom, covered with a glove, which was perfect though colourless, and preserved the bones in their places, the articulation of the joints being plainly visible.

The crozier was of wood, very neatly carved. Its appearance was so interesting, that it was taken up for the purpose of having an accurate drawing made of it. The feet were in boots, and between them lay a small leaden box, very carefully fastened up, and about two and a half inches long by two inches wide. It had no inscription beyond the initials R. F. This box was taken up and afterwards opened in the Dean's presence. It proved to contain a small piece of vellum, on which was written very neatly in Gothic characters:—

Quinto die Octobris anno Domini millimo quingentesimo vicesimo octavo obiit et sepultus est Ricardus Fox hujus ecclesie Epus. qui hanc rexit ecclesiam septem et viginti annis integre.

The inscription is interesting, as giving the true date of Foxe's death, elsewhere given differently; and secondly as seeming to imply that he was buried the day he died, which would account for the appearance of the coffin.

Respecting the pieces of Purbeck marble above mentioned, when joined together the

subject of the painting proved to be the Coronation of the Virgin, and work of the thirteenth century. How came it in the tomb? Dr. Nott's conjecture is that it was the altar piece of a chapel destroyed in the building of Foxe's Chantry, and ordered by him to be preserved in this way as a mark of affection or respect.

The tomb contained no other object of curiosity. Its dimensions were 7ft. 1in. long, 3ft. 11in. deep, 2ft. 9in. wide. The coffin was 5ft. 11½in. long by 1ft. 10in. wide at the head and 1ft. 6in. at the feet.

It was manifest, says Dr. Nott, that the tomb had never suffered injury, either from sacrilegious profanement, or rude curiosity. The only suspicious circumstance suggesting that it might have been opened, was that there was no ring, either within or without the glove.

The crozier is in the Cathedral Library, and also a magnificent sapphire ring said to have been Bishop Foxe's, but on what authority, if any, is not known. F. T. M.

Thomas Wolsey, 1529-1530.

It would be inappropriate as well as hopeless to attempt in a column or two of a *Diocesan Chronicle* to discuss the character and career of a great master of statecraft. It is in that aspect alone that Thomas Wolsey is remembered now, except for a few pathetic memories of his sufferings from the ingratitude and colossal egotism of the royal master he had served so faithfully. His ecclesiastical relations fill no place in our thoughts, and with good reason, for almost to the end their interests and duties were consistently ignored. Yet it may be worth while to notice briefly two or three features of his public life which remind us of striking defects of the pre-reformation Church, as also of his sadly disappointed efforts to rival the enduring work of his great predecessors in the See of Winchester.

No one, perhaps, has more fully represented the practice of delegation which had been throughout so widely accepted in the Church. In every grade of the hierarchy official substitutes were provided as a matter of course by regular appointment. Religious houses were forced to endow parochial vicars; Cathedral dignitaries and canons must have each his vicar choral; vicars general acted for the bishops; archdeacons nominated their officials to do all their work, while they studied Canon law at Orleans or Padua, or ran into debt or to worse scrapes, and even when they came back at length to be scolded in the Bishop's pastorals for their exactions or shortcomings. Those days indeed are far away; it seems almost irreverent to recall them. The Church had the monopoly of these abuses; the State could not tolerate them in its official life. Chancellors, treasurers, and judges had to work hard and could not delegate their duties, for the whole machinery would else have fallen out of gear. It was the State indeed, it may be said, that largely forced for its own convenience the unseemly practice on the Church. It would have educated men to do its work, and the ranks of the Clergy

only could supply them; those ranks indeed were very large, vastly greater than at present in proportion to the population; as far as numbers went they could easily have been spared, and have left amply enough behind for spiritual work. But the State must have picked men, and would pay them from Church funds by using its preferments to reward them. Non-residence and delegation naturally followed. If now and then a punctilious Bishop ventured to cite an absent Rector, he was soon trounced by an angry letter from the King, for the privileges of his civil servants were endangered. But the Bishops themselves had often been the worst offenders, because the ablest servants and the best paid. They had been pluralists to an astonishing extent, for dispensations were easily procured by men who could dispose of the interest or funds which were all-powerful at Rome. At times indeed a General Council, like the Second of Lyons, stirred by some conscientious scruple or high-minded Pope, issued an ineffectual Canon, or a stern martinet like John XXII by a Bull *Execrabilis*, caused wide-spread dismay. But these were only temporary measures, and the abuses were long-lived.

Wolsey at the close of the old system surpassed all the pluralists who went before him in the magnitude of his ecclesiastical possessions. It was not merely that in the earlier days he accepted a multitude of different preferments as the substantial tokens of Court favour. Nothing was too insignificant to be added to the list. *Pratum minus* was the tiniest prebend of one of the most slenderly endowed of English chapters, consisting, as it seems, of a few trusses of hay from the Lugg meadows of Hereford, but Wolsey was content to hold it till the Deanery was vacant. The Bishops had commonly resigned their benefices at or soon after their election, and vacated each See in turn as they passed on to a better. Wolsey accumulated bishopricks as others had done livings. Besides the Archbishoprick of York, he had the Abbacy of St. Albans, and one important

See as well, either Bath, Durham, or Winchester, for these three he held in succession but not jointly. Nor was it English preferment only that was treated thus. When he resigned the See of Tournai he retained a large pension on its funds. By favour of the Emperor he had a bishoprick in Spain as well as considerable charges on some other Sees, the payment of which, it must be owned, were often delayed and sometimes never made. Such an accumulation was unexampled among English prelates. Indeed the practice of holding high preferments *in commendam* was Continental more than English, for here the custody of parish churches only had been usually granted in an earlier age as a temporary measure till the holder was qualified by age or Orders. In Carolingian times episcopal temporalities had been conferred as fiefs on military chieftains, and though the Church regained its rights over the French Sees, Abbacies in later days were often given *in commendam*.

The See of Winchester was given to Wolsey when he was already tottering to his fall; and he was installed by proxy, on April 11th, 1529, to hold it for a few months only. The Register describes the scene when William Britten, Chaplain and Proctor of Thomas Wolsey, "perpetual administrator of the See of Winchester," was met by the Mayor and others at the door of the church of St. Mary Kalendar, and escorted in splendid ceremony to the Cathedral. That the Cardinal had "gaped" for years for the preferment (Fuller), or pressed Foxe to resign it in his favour, we may probably dismiss as malevolent inventions; he refused to pay the price which the Court of Rome at first demanded—thirteen thousand ducats—to expedite the necessary bulls (letter of Peter Vannes), but Casalis promised six thousand in his name, and an early resignation of the bishoprick of Durham, which would involve, as it was urged, large dues to be paid by his successor. There is no record after this of any visit of Wolsey to Winchester. A vicar general, John Incent, was immedi-

ately appointed, and all the details of the administration were left in his and other hands. The Register contains little but the entries of the collation of William Boleyn to the Archdeaconry of Winchester and of Edward Lee to that of Surrey, together with the details of the election of a few heads of religious houses and the lists of institutions. He was soon required (March 29th) to sign a commission to his vicar general to vest in the King the disposal of benefices and offices of his See, and with that his powers of control were ended.

Had fortune favoured him he would have doubtless followed further in the steps of Wykeham, Waynflete, and Foxe, for his educational interests were amply shown in the schemes which he was not able to carry to completion. The splendid endowments for the Colleges which he founded had been bestowed after he had used his legatine authority, and, by his own admission, infringed the Statute of Provisors. They were, so lawyers insisted, wholly void, and at the King's disposal. The College at Ipswich was totally suppressed, and "a noble foundation, so much needed for the eastern counties, was brought to desolation by the avarice of the King and the greed of his favourites" (Brewer). Cardinal College, at Oxford, survived only on a poorer scale, for Henry said to his petitioners that "he would have an honourable College there, but not so great, or of such magnificence as my Lord Cardinal intended to have, for it is not thought meet for the common good of our realm." It had been designed for a Dean and sixty canons with six professors, and petty canons and choristers to match; buildings on a grand scale had been pushed on, and part even of St. Frideswyde's Church demolished to make room for them. But no survivals of conventual life were embodied in the scheme, in which the mediæval element had found no place. Of all the conditions of his downfall this mutilation of his fond hopes as founder grieved Wolsey perhaps the most. All his repeated efforts in his letters to Cromwell,

Gardiner, the Chief Justice, the Attorney General, and others, were unavailing. The suppression of religious houses, which it had cost him so much to carry through, with papal bulls and heavy legal charges, this indeed was soon to be continued. Not only the decayed and useless, which he would have replaced by worthier institutions, but all alike were soon to be swept away. A fatal example had been set before the eyes of a man like Henry, for, as Fuller puts it, his precedent "made all the forest of religious foundations in England to shake, justly fearing the King would fell the oaks, seeing the Cardinal began to cut the underwood."

That the time had come for a large policy of reform, if not of suppression, few

can doubt who know much of the history of those times. We may reject indeed the grossly prejudiced accounts of Cromwell's agents as of no value in themselves, but there is a danger that in the natural reaction we should give too little heed to other evidence which does exist, not indeed of numerous and widespread immoralities, but of frequent failures to maintain a fair level of spiritual life, of laxity of discipline and sloth, which might not indeed shock their tenants and their neighbours in the country-side, but which made the monks fall far short of the ideals of their pious founders, while they were also powerless to fill a worthy place in the future development of national life.

Stephen Gardiner.—1531-1555.

Of the early life of Gardiner little more is known than that he was the son of a cloth-worker of Bury St. Edmunds, that he studied at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, of which he was a Fellow, and afterwards Master, becoming a Doctor of Civil Law in 1521, and of Canon Law in the following year. As tutor in the family of the Duke of Norfolk, he was introduced to Wolsey, who made him his private secretary, and soon recognised his talents. When it was known that King Henry was intent to break the ties which bound him to Queen Catherine, Gardiner was sent in 1528 with Edward Foxe to urge on Pope Clement the appointment of a commission to try the cause in England, which in effect was to brave the resentment of the Emperor, and ignore the ruling of a preceding pope. They found him at Orvieto, and their letters describe the scene vividly with the course of the negotiations. Much impressed by the poverty-stricken surroundings of the Papal Court, they had no word to say of the Duomo with its magnificent façade, or of the picturesque position of the town. Passing through a few corridors peopled with a motley crowd, they found the Pope in a poor chamber on a bench covered with a threadbare cushion. There, if we may trust these letters, they plied him, in repeated interviews for hours at a stretch, with bold importunities and threats which the Pope parried with evasive pleas, and sometimes with playful humour, as when he said that he was told that the principles of Canon Law were locked up in his breast, but God had not been pleased to provide him with a key. They had been instructed to use "all goodly and dulce ways without concitating the Pope by any sharp words of discomfort," but he appears to have writhed under Gardiner's stormy outbursts, and they wrung from him at length a concession, dishonest indeed, but of less value than it seemed, and Gardiner returned to rise at once in the King's favour, to be his "right hand" when Wolsey fell, and to

receive the See of Winchester as his reward in 1531.

He had shown no scruples hitherto in furthering the policy of his royal master. For the divorce he had spared no diplomatic efforts to obtain the sanction of Clement at Orvieto, and the favourable judgment of the heads of the University at Cambridge. There was no visible reluctance in displacing the authority of the Pope by royal supremacy, for he wrote a book, which he would gladly have forgotten later on, *de vera obedientia*. The story that he was forced to compose it under pain of death was apparently an afterthought of his friends. He calmly acquiesced in the suppression of the religious houses. But he was of less pliant humour when the revolutionary flood rose higher. He succeeded in dissuading Henry from any compact with the German Protestants which would tie his hands in future policy; he did not disguise his disapproval of the tendencies encouraged by Cromwell and by Cranmer, though he took an active part in the translation of the New Testament. The answer to the Supplication of the Commons which was drafted by his hand was a cogent but temperate defence of the rights and interests of his Order. This coupled with resistance to a proposed exchange of some Church property caused him a certain loss of royal favour, and may have led to his exclusion from the list of the executors who were charged with the government during the young King's minority; but the story of the suspicion and resentment with which the King regarded him at last, and which would have led to his disgrace had the King lived longer, seems to be mostly due to the malice of Paget, a former dependant of the Bishop.

The extreme advocates of reform had been alternately encouraged and repressed on grounds of personal policy, but Henry's death now freed them from restraint. The result was seen immediately in outspoken language and illegal acts, which were met with strong protest from Gardiner. He



Portrait of Bishop Gardiner.

(From the painting in Trinity Hall, Cambridge.)

[By kind permission of Mr. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge.]

had shown no sympathy for ceremonial and doctrinal changes: he objected to them now on the constitutional ground that the Council had no authority to sanction them. But the Protector and Cranmer would go forward; the Injunctions and Homilies were issued, and their resolute opponent must, it seemed, be silenced. He was committed therefore to the Fleet, from which he was released only to give more offence by his strictures on the translation of the Paraphrase of Erasmus, as well as by the sermon which by order of the Council he was called upon to preach. He was sent then to the tower, where he penned a forcible reply to Cranmer's treatise on the Sacrament. His bishoprick was sequestered, and, notwithstanding his dignified remonstrances at his illegal imprisonment, he remained there till the accession of Mary restored him to freedom and to the See of which he had meantime been deprived.

As adviser of Queen Mary and Lord Chancellor he became at once the leading spirit of the new government, which, when returning unmistakably to the principles of the unreformed Church, was merciful at first in its treatment of its opponents. Cranmer might have retired on a pension into private life if he could have refrained from controversy. Peter Martyr and other foreigners of note were allowed to depart uninjured, even provided with money for the purpose; the submission to Papal authority was delayed a while, perhaps because Gardiner was undecided. He had not learned to reverence it much when he met its representative face to face at Orvieto, and he had given more than tacit acquiescence when obedience was renounced; but of late under the Royal Supremacy the principles of Church Order and Doctrine which he held most dear were called in question, and he may have come round reluctantly to the belief that in Rome was to be found the only safeguard of essential truths. Once convicted of this, he acted, as his wont was, with resolute decision; he encouraged the Queen in her

desire to receive the Cardinal Legate, but did not allow him to exercise his office without such formal licence as might safeguard national rights. He publicly confessed, in his famous sermon in 1554, his own share in the nation's guilt, affirming even that Henry had been minded towards the end to restore the papal jurisdiction.

With the restoration of Papal authority under Queen Mary coercive measures against heresy, the revival of old penal laws, followed as a matter of course, but there is no evidence that Gardiner had any liking for the cruel work. No doubt many of the earlier sufferers or fugitives from persecution, as well as later writers influenced by their statements, formed a very different estimate of his feelings. To Becon he was a "cruel and bloody wolf," or "lurking like a lion in his den that he might murder the innocent." To Ponet, who took his place awhile at Winchester, he was "the great devil and cut-throat of England." Bale the foul-mouthed was content to call him "wily gagling Winchester." By Latimer and Ridley he was referred to as Diotrephes. Froude, accepting all these prejudiced views, regards him as "the incarnate expression of the fury of the ecclesiastical faction" (vi, 197), yet it appears that he had tried to save Frith when brought to trial in 1533, only to have his kindness of demeanour described by Fox as "cruel hypocrisy." The tragedy of Barnes and others in 1546 has been imputed to him, but he stood bail for him when he was first in trouble, and though called by him "a garden cock who deserved to be whipped like a schoolboy for his ignorance of grammar," after two hours of disputation he promised at Barnes' request to take him to his home and allow him sixty pounds a year. He tried indeed to do so, but Barnes would not stay, on which Bale writes that "he made Barnes his scholar, and put him into a schoolhouse called the Tower, and whipped him with a whip of fire till he had pounded him to ashes." Latimer complained in 1546 that his troubles had been largely due to the "malice of Winchester,"

to which Gardiner replied, "You do me much wrong,—for your person I have loved, favoured, and done much for you" When Bradford in 1555 reproached him with cruelty, he answered quietly that he had been often challenged for being too gentle as a judge; Bonner and others present confirmed his statement. He would willingly have had Cranmer spared, though he could not but feel sorely his own treatment at the Archbishop's hands, or fail to resent his eager advocacy of novel changes.

From the prominence of his official rank he was forced to take a leading part in the religious trials. His natural vehemence of temper had grown perhaps more hasty and overbearing under the strain of his imprisonment, and his examination of the accused is not an edifying record. But their taunts and unseemly personalities were hard to bear. The treatise *de vera obedientia*, which had been well nigh forgotten for twenty years, was issued in a translation, apparently by Bale, with a preface purporting to be by Bonner, and in the trials the principles which he had renounced were flung often in his face. He was passionate in argument, when thus "prettily nipped and touched" (Fox), but his stormy language was more likely to silence dangerous speech than to extract confessions of heretical beliefs.

He had written to the Protector Somerset to deprecate the issue of new regulations which would have to be enforced, adding that "punishments are not pleasant to those that have the execution of them." In that spirit he refused at times, like others of his brethren, to take action when the justices delivered reputed heretics to the ordinaries to be further dealt with, though the Queen and her husband remonstrated with the bishops for their lack of persecuting zeal.

If we turn to his treatment of political offenders it is true that after Wyatt's insurrection he advised that severer measures should be taken; it is not true, as Fox and Strype and Froude have stated,

that he urged that no more mercy should be shewn, but that "true mercy should be shewn to the whole body politic by cutting off the diseased members." Nor is it fair to represent him as the ruthless enemy of Elizabeth, though Fox could say that "whatsoever danger of death she was in, it did no doubt proceed from the bloody bishop who was the cause thereof . . . and if a writ came down from certain of the Council for her execution, it is out of controversy that wily Winchester was the only Dædalus and framer of that engine." In a moment of irritation he exclaimed perhaps that "as long as she was alive there would be no hope of tranquillity"; but the well-informed Ambassador of Spain frequently complained in his despatches that Gardiner protected her from being brought to trial, and was constantly delaying matters, in hope that it might be possible to save her, even, as the Queen suspected, withholding evidence against her (Tytler ii, 384).

For the alliance with Philip of Spain he had evidently no liking, and when forced to yield to the Queen's wishes he drew up the conditions of the marriage treaty in such terms as to safeguard the rights and liberties of the English nation, and to exclude foreigners from State employments. He had it ratified by Parliament, before which he boasted that England was brought under no yoke, but had acquired Philip with his kingdom. He stood resolutely at his post in those troubled times, and struggled manfully with disease and weakness. The French Ambassador found him "livid with jaundice and bursting with dropsy," but he talked with him calmly and graciously, and walked with him through three saloons to show himself to the people who thought that he was dead. But soon the end came (November 13th, 1555). Some poor fragments of the body were taken to the Church of St. Mary Overies, but the rest was carried in great state to Winchester, where he had taken part in the royal marriage in the preceding year. There his own Cathedral received for final rest the last of the long series of statesmen-bishops.

What was said by Melanchthon of the English bishops at the negotiations of Wittenberg—"they have no relish of our philosophy and sweetness"—was true certainly of Gardiner; he had no taste for dogmas and translations made in Germany, including that of his own book.

He was indeed no obscurantist. Fox even allows him "excellent learning"; he had views about the pronunciation of Greek vowels, which he tried as Chancellor to force on Cambridge; there was some reason in those days of arbitrary changes for his list of Latin words which he proposed to retain in the translation of the Bible.

There was little delicacy of moral sense in his diplomacy to further the divorce, nor was there much proof of sympathy for Wolsey's fall, or of efforts in his favour, but he made himself beloved by his whole household, for they spared no efforts to free him from imprisonment, vainly importuning the members of the Council, and urging the Lord Chancellor to exhibit a bill in Parliament for his relief.

His was a masterful and resolute nature, than which no stronger came forward in those troubled times; embittered, it may be, by the illegalities of the Protectorate, and by the opposition of trimmers like Paget in the Council, who complained that he carried matters through "by fire and blood"; easily stung by taunts of inconsistency which he found it hard to justify to himself; passionate often and overbearing, but not the cruel and vindictive persecutor who appears in the pages of Fox and of much later writers, and it was hard that he should have been branded as the chief and guilty cause of the horrors that were largely due to the callousness of Henry, to the submissiveness of Parliament, and the implacable temper of Queen Mary.

Stephen Gardiner, the University Man.

Stephen Gardiner occupies so large a space in political and ecclesiastical history that it is often forgotten that he was for twenty-seven or twenty-eight years Master of a College in Cambridge, and for eleven years Chancellor of the University. The great Bishop of Winchester, the King's Secretary, the Queen's Chancellor, whose income was somewhere about £3000 a year as Bishop; who by easy stages could travel from Bishop's Waltham to Winchester, from Winchester to Farnham, from Farnham to Esher (till Henry VIII annexed this last house), from Esher to Winchester House, resting each night in a stately house of his own, kept the poor lodging which was his as Master of Trinity Hall, and the £6. 13s. 4d. a year which was all the Master received beyond his commons if in residence. Nor need we attribute this to the motive which made Wolsey cling to his few trusses of hay from the Hereford stall. Gardiner looked upon it as a place of retirement in case of need, and declared, "that if all his palaces were blown down by iniquity, he would honestly creep into this poor shell."

He seems to have cared for the College where he was educated. Trinity Hall, the College of Scholars of the Hall of the Holy Trinity of Norwich, often called "Trinity College" as late as Elizabeth's reign, was a College of Civilians and Canon Lawyers. It was but a small College, but Ecclesiastical Judges, Admiralty Officials, and the Diplomatic Service, as we should call it, were largely recruited from it. Gardiner was educated there, and there took his degree of Doctor of Canon Law in 1520, and of Civil Law in 1521. If he was born in 1483, he must have gone up rather older than was usual. He was engaged in teaching at the University, besides being tutor to the sons of the Duke of Norfolk. One of these, Lord William Howard, afterwards the first Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral and Ambassador, was his pupil at the College. Wriothesley, later Earl of Southampton and Chancellor;

Paget, Secretary to Henry VIII, and Lord Privy Seal to Mary; May, President of Queen's, who died as Archbishop-designate of York in 1560; and Thirlby, Bishop in succession of Westminster, Norwich, and Ely, Politician and Ambassador, were among his pupils before he became great himself as a Politician and a Bishop. A different conception of Gardiner from that which usually prevails is given us by Strype's words, "the learned Gardiner's family, the very seat of eloquence and of the Muses." This was written with reference to Paget, one of "his family," who was a learned man, and lectured at Cambridge before going into public life.

Gardiner was the first lecturer on Sir Robert Rede's foundation in 1524, and was elected Master of the college in 1525. In 1540, when he was a great man, he was made Chancellor of the University. As such of course he followed a conservative religious policy, but he pursued no one to the death, and the one martyr among the fellows of his own college, Thomas Bilney, suffered in Norfolk, and Gardiner had nothing to do with his trial. In 1529, after he had become master, Latimer, already a reformer, was allowed to preach in St. Edward's Church, which belonged entirely to the College; and Gardiner himself translated the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John for Cranmer's Bible. Gardiner's most obstructive act as Chancellor was opposing the reformed pronouncement of Greek, wherein he was more in the wrong than those whom he opposed.

He did at this time a substantial service to his college. North of the buildings of Trinity Hall a public lane ran down to the river, right under the wall of the College. North of this was a strip of waste ground; north of this was Michael House. Henry VIII was planning the foundation of Trinity College, to absorb Michael House among other older foundations, and was projecting a college on a very magnificent scale. It was destined to overtop other colleges in Cambridge, and was likely to literally overtop Trinity Hall on the north side. Gardiner

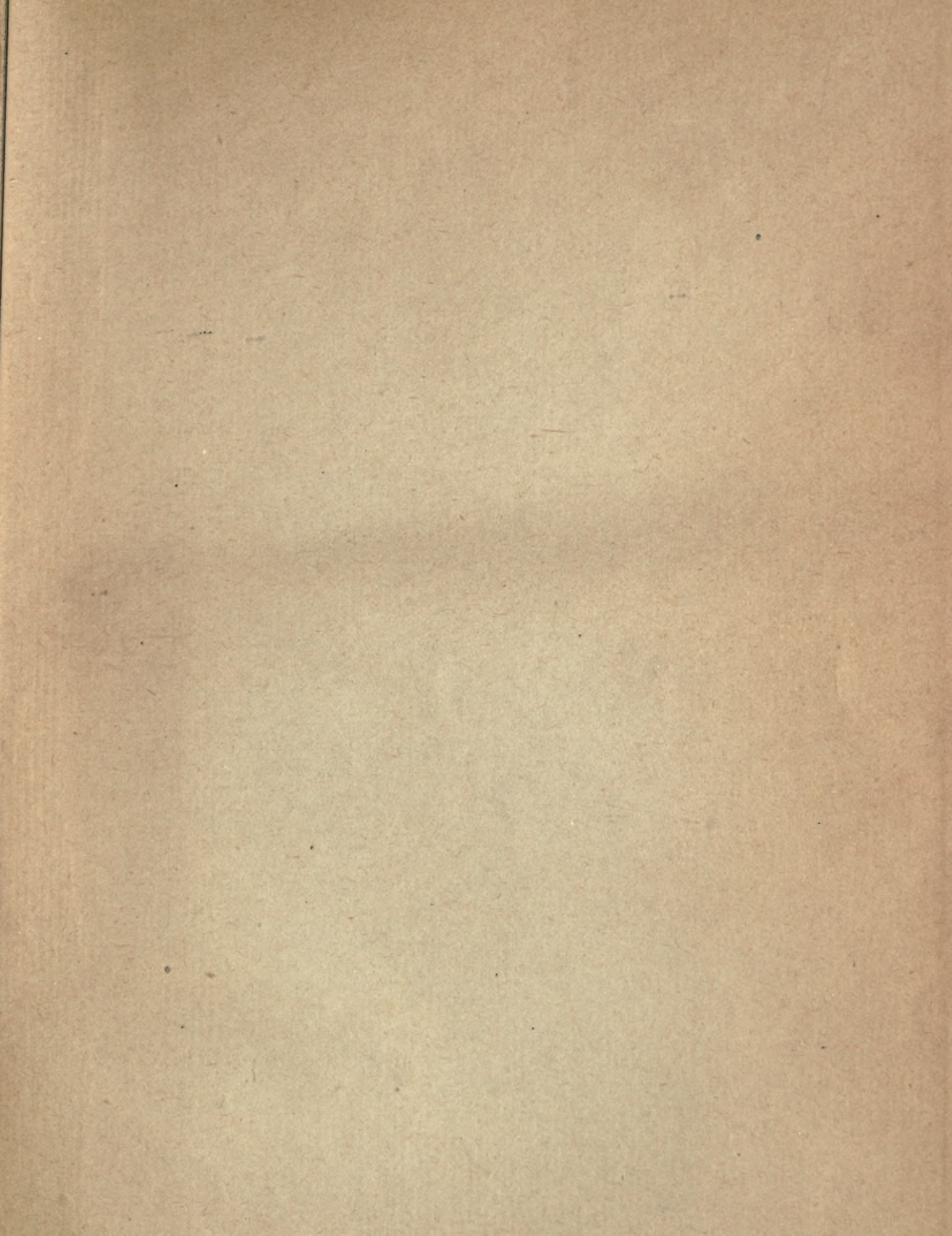
employed his influence as Chancellor, and his purse as Bishop of Winchester, to buy the intervening bit of waste land from the town, a few feet more from Michael House, and to induce the town to consent to the diversion of the right of way from under the windows of his college to the north side of the ground so acquired, where it still runs as Garret Hostel Lane. The intervening ground he enclosed by a wall from the lane, and made it into a Fellows' garden. The whole was completed in 1545, within a year of the formal institution of Trinity College. Had he been less prompt this waste ground would ultimately no doubt have been acquired by Trinity College, and the buildings of what is now Trinity New Court would have domineered over the Hall from the other side of an unsavoury lane ten feet wide.

In 1549 he did his part in averting graver trouble. The University Commission of the Regency proposed the amalgamation of Clare and Trinity Hall in one College, to be called King Edward's College, for the training of civilians to advise the Council in London. We know how, apart from the loss of their individuality, the two Colleges would have seen some of their property sticking in the hands of the Crown and its servants. King Edward would have been made to pose as a pious Founder, and the association of the Church of St. Edward, King and Martyr, would have added colour to the fiction. The danger was so imminent that the Fellows of Clare divided the College plate among themselves for fear of the worst. Gardiner was in the Tower, but was still Master. He wrote a strong remonstrance against the destruction of his College. He might not have prevailed had not Latimer been a Clare man, and Paget and May been on the Commission. At all events the scheme was dropped, and some of the Clare plate came back into the common stock. An inventory of the property of Trinity Hall, made soon after Gardiner's death, shows one silver cup certainly and perhaps four others, and fourteen volumes

in the library, which still exist, though most of the plate and books of his time have disappeared. Gardiner was probably deprived of the Mastership in 1551; his successor was appointed by the Crown, not the College, in 1552, and it was in 1551 that he was deprived of the Chancellorship. He was restored as Master by Mary in 1553, not re-elected, as the Dictionary N. B. says, and died as Master. He left the College £100 in his will. The portrait at Wolvesey, an engraving, called Gardiner, is a portrait of Bishop Horne. Gardiner's

contemporary portrait is in the College, done by a painter of Holbein's School. The late Bishop Thorold had a copy of it made for Farnham. When Gardiner died his College was represented in the higher ranks of the Government by himself as Lord Chancellor, Lord Howard of Effingham Lord Admiral, Paget in the Council but not yet Privy Seal, and Thirlby an Ambassador. Mary's Government was not great nor successful, but these four represented the best part of its ability, and not the least part of such honesty as it had.

H. E. MALDEN.



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PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE
OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
59 QUEEN'S PARK
TORONTO 5, CANADA

